THE BOLSHEVIK PERSECUTION OF CHRISTIANITY

CAPTAIN FRANCIS McCULLAGH

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Drawn by Blanka Mercère from a Sketch by the Author.

"BENEDICAT VOS OMNIPOTENS DEUS . . ." (ARCHBISHOP CIEPLAK PRONOUNCING THE EPISCOPAL BENEDICTION FROM THE DOCK AFTER HIS CONDEMNATION TO DEATH).

THE BOLSHEVIK PERSECUTION OF CHRISTIANITY

BY

CAPTAIN FRANCIS McCULLAGH

AUTHOR OF
"WITH THE COSSACKS," "THE FALL OF ABDUL HAMID,"
"A PRISONER OF THE REDS," ETC.

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"We have finished with the earthly Tzars;
now we shall deal with the heavenly Tzars."

Bezbozhnik, January, 1923.

(The *Bezbozhnik*, or "Atheist," a weekly newspaper of a violently anti-religious character, is published at Moscow by the Bolsheviks.)

UNITED THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

DEDICATED TO

MR. FRANK MUNSEY

OWNER AND EDITOR OF THE "NEW YORK HERALD,"

WHO, BY SENDING ME AS HIS CORRESPONDENT TO RUSSIA,

ENABLED ME TO OBTAIN THE FACTS SET FORTH

IN THIS BOOK

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

THE title of this book is to some extent misleading, for instead of dealing exhaustively with the persecution of Christians in which the Government of Lenin has indulged during the last five years, I merely touch here on the fringe of that vast subject. A work which would present a full picture of these persecutions would have to be as large as the work which M. Paul Allard devotes to the persecutions under Diocletian, and would have to be written by one who had more time at his disposal than I have; by one, moreover, who was a trained historical writer and not merely a working journalist compelled by the circumstances of his life to travel continuously abroad and to write copiously for the daily press.

The more I studied the details of the great attack which the Soviet Government first launched against the Christian Churches in Russia five years ago, and which it has continued up to this day, the greater and more complex the subject seemed to grow, and the more indisposed I consequently became to write anything about that attack at all; but finally I decided—whether rightly or wrongly the reader can judge for himself—that it would be better for me to say something, even though that something were fragmentary and incomplete, than to say nothing; that it would be well for me to record, in a less ephemeral and disconnected form than that of newspaper articles, the great story of Patriarch Tikhon's fall and Archbishop Cieplak's condemnation.

It is, of course, the Russian Orthodox Church that has borne in the past, and that bears now, the brunt of the persecution: 28 of its bishops and 1,215 of its priests are said to have been put to death; and though, probably, some of them were murdered, not because their Church was the Church of Christ, but because it had been the Church of the

Tzars, there is no doubt that many were genuine martyrs, and that the Bolshevik persecution of the Orthodox community generally can be correctly described as a religious persecution.

The Baptists, Methodists, Salvationists, and other Protestant Churches, have also been persecuted, for the Bolsheviks hate every form of Christianity; but in order to describe all they have suffered I would have to enlarge very much the size of this book; and, moreover, there is, I find, a distinct tendency on the part of all Christian bodies in Russia—the Orthodox and the Roman Catholics not excepted—to withhold names and details, and indeed to keep absolutely silent for the present, lest worse should befall the cause they have at heart. I hope the time will soon come when every Christian community in Russia will publish its own authoritative records of the injustice to which its ministers and its laity have been subjected by the Bolsheviks during the last five years; but in any case the morrow of Lenin's fall will be a sort of Judgment Day: many things that are now hidden will then be made manifest. Meanwhile, however, I think that all Christians outside of Russia can unite on one point —that is, to demand the release of all ministers of religion now imprisoned in Russia. I do not advocate an armed crusade, but I do think that it is the duty of every Christian to make the Soviet Government understand that its continued imprisonment of Christian clergymen will hurt it in all its international relations.

The Bolsheviks say, it is true, that those clergymen are undergoing punishment for political offences. This may be true: Nero, probably, would have said the same of the Christians he punished; but while Lenin regards the teaching of the Catechism to children as a political offence, we regard it as a religious duty. But let us humour the Reds on this point, and broaden our demand so as to include political offenders, as imprisonment by the Bolsheviks for political offences constitutes a high testimonial of political honesty. The cry of "Hands off Russia!" was successful in 1920; why should not the cry of "Open the prison doors!" be successful in 1924, especially as all Liberalism and 90 per cent. of Labour and even of Socialism in Europe and in America would join in it, has already raised it in fact?

I have already pointed out that I do not undertake to deal, in the following pages, with every aspect of the Bolshevik persecution of Christianity. I only deal with two points: (1) the blow which the Bolsheviks aimed at the head of the Orthodox Church—in other words, their intrigues against the Patriarch which culminated in their imprisonment of him and their encouragement of a schismatic movement against him; and (2) the blow which they aimed at the head of the Catholic Church in Russia—in other words, the Cieplak trial.

The reader may ask why I take this trial in preference to any other of the religious trials which have taken place in Russia since the Revolution. My answer is that, though I have accumulated a great mass of trustworthy information about the other religious trials, I did not attend any of them. Having been present, however, at all the sittings of the Red Court which tried Archbishop Cieplak and his clergy, and having studied that trial closely from every point of view, I determined to report it very fully and (if I may say so) very accurately, because it is typical of all the religious trials referred to above. In other words, I thought it better for me to confine myself to one trial and to bring out every aspect of it, instead of attempting to deal minutely with all the trials, and thus running the risk of wearying the reader.

The Bolsheviks possessed every facility for producing a report of this trial and for publishing that report in all the languages of Europe; but, so far, they have deliberately refrained from issuing anything in the nature of a full report, even for circulation in Russia itself;* and, while the court was actually sitting, they did their best to prevent the foreign press getting impartial information about the proceedings.† This reticence of the Reds was not due to inexperience or to lack of technical resources or to modesty: well they know how to flood the world with propagandist literature, whenever they like. It was due to the fact that the charges whereon the trial was based and the methods whereby it was conducted would neither of them bear examination. Yet when the question of religious persecution by the Bol-

* See Part II., Chapter II. † See Part II., Chapter IX.

sheviks was raised, several months afterwards, in the British House of Commons, the leader of the Labour Party urged that proofs were lacking. There will never be many proofs of the kind which Mr. Ramsay MacDonald wants, and there will never be many witnesses, so long as the Reds continue to suppress all evidence, and to murder all those who, like Monsignor Budkiewicz, are best qualified to testify against them. Had that priest been really a Polish spy, and had overwhelming evidence been produced against him, the whole world would have been deluged with verbatim accounts of the trial sent out by the great wireless station at Moscow, and published, regardless of expense, in every foreign country where the Bolsheviks have missions. Because no reports have been sent out, we are asked to refrain from criticizing the Bolsheviks. It is like being asked to refrain from condemning a murderer who has been caught red-handed, because he refuses to make a statement.

The only reports of the Cieplak trial which the Bolsheviks had published up to June, 1923, appeared in the *Izvestia* and the *Pravda;* and I translate these accounts in the Appendix; but in July, 1923, I received from Moscow a Bolshevik pamphlet, in Polish, dealing with the trial in a vague, fragmentary, and inaccurate way. That pamphlet is entitled " Proces Arcybiskupa Cieplaka i 14 Księży. Pod redakcją J. Leszczyńskiego. Moskwa, Wydawnictwo 'Krasnaja Now,' 1923 rok." Throughout the following pages I will, for convenience, refer to that document as " the Bolshevik pamphlet on the Cieplak trial," or simply as " the Bolshevik pamphlet.'

One would have expected the Polish Government to publish something about this case, but so far it has published nothing save (1) translations from the Bolshevik newspapers, translations which, as I have already stated, I give, myself, in the Appendix and which were all made by me from the original Russian; (2) translations of my own newspaper articles. This apparent lack of enterprise on the part of the Poles is due to the fact that the Government of Warsaw knew nothing of Budkiewicz's doings, and that no representative of the Polish Mission in Moscow was allowed to attend the sittings of the court. None of my information is derived,

therefore, from Polish sources. The Polish Government is making no effort whatever to use the Catholic Church in Russia for political purposes; and, even if it did make any such effort, the Catholic Church would not allow itself to be so used. In the following pages, and particularly in Part III., Chapter III., the reader will find decisive evidence on this point.

The only reason for uneasiness I have in connection with this book is that, by the time it is published, the whole situation in Russia may have changed; but that uneasiness would be an excuse for writing nothing at all on any aspect of Bolshevik Russia, for there is no other country in the world where every aspect of life changes so rapidly as in Russia, not because the Government of Russia is progressive, but because it is unstable. Sketching Red Russia is like sketching the cone of a volcano in active eruption: where there are depressions to-day there may be protuberances to-morrow; where there are lava peaks to-day there may be deep crevices to-morrow; and over peaks and depressions alike there always hangs a cloud of blinding and suffocating vapours which deceive the eye, affect the nerves, and consequently disturb the judgment. The Bolsheviks and their journalistic friends outside Russia have often made merry about the many false prophecies that have been uttered regarding the inevitable fall of the Soviet Government; but, in the life of a race, six years is only a second; and nobody who writes about the Bolshevik Government in autumn is ever sure that it will be in existence the following spring, or that it will not have changed out of all recognition. In the autumn of 1920 I wrote a book in which, incidentally, the Bolshevik system of economics was condemned; and though in 1920 Lenin spoke of this system as if it were to be permanent as the eternal hills, he had practically abolished it in March, 1921, when my book appeared. Even since the present book was begun the attitude of the Soviet Government towards the Orthodox Church has changed completely, but not for the better: as I explain in Part III., Chapter I., the Orthodox Church is in greater danger now (September, 1923) than it was in May, 1923. But even though the Bolsheviks cease to be persecutors of Christianity, even though their power is

overthrown, the facts set forth in the following pages will still, I flatter myself, be of interest to all Christians.

I might add that no individual and no Government, and no religious, political, or other organization is behind this work, or has given any assistance towards it, or has even promised to buy a single copy. It is published under nobody's auspices or patronage; and both the author and the publisher could have devoted themselves to work which would be more profitable to them financially.

A disproportionately long time has had to be given to a translation of carelessly written Bolshevik documents and to a verification of Russian and Polish names, both personal and place names. As for the transliteration of these names, I follow the system fixed by the Liverpool School of Russian Studies and adopted later, with a few modifications, by the British Academy; but I give in Polish the two names Cieplak and Budkiewicz (pronounced Tzyeplàk and Budkyèvich), because the Polish spelling in these two cases is more familiar to the general public in this country. The other Polish names I transliterate from the Russian in accordance with the above-mentioned system; and it will be remembered that, as is generally the case with Polish names, the accent is always on the penultimate, save when there are only two syllables; thus Yunevich is pronounced Yunyèvich (*ch* being like *ch* in the word " church ").

FRANCIS McCULLAGH.

LONDON,
September 14, 1923.

POSTSCRIPT

THE FUTURE OF THE RUSSIAN CHURCH

SEVERAL events of ecclesiastical, and perhaps even of historical, importance took place just before this book left the hands of the printer, and as they bear directly on the subjects discussed in the foregoing pages, I shall allude briefly to them here. In November, 1923, the Right Rev. Herbert Bury, the Anglican Bishop of North and Central Europe, visited Moscow with the ready and courteous acquiescence of the Soviet Government, saw the Patriarch, and shared a service with him in the great Uspensky Church. At this service, Bishop Bury wore his vestments, was treated by the head of the Russian Church as a brother prelate, and afterwards blessed the people, who greeted him with indescribable enthusiasm. This reception amounts to a public recognition of Anglican Orders by the Patriarch, who will probably issue in course of time a formal recognition of them. Taken in conjunction with the successful Anglo-Orthodox *rapprochement* in the Near East, this alliance with the Russian Church practically makes Great Britain the protector of all the Eastern Christians, including those in the former Russian Empire and in the Border States. Thus the protectorate of the Orthodox world has now passed from Russia to Russia's ancient rival, which is also, by the way, the protector of Islam and of Jewry, while still remaining the most powerful Protestant State in Europe. In a few more years we may see a great Anglo-Orthodox federation, perhaps even an Œcumenical Council to which England, the British colonies, and America can send hundreds of Bishops. French observers fear that there may grow up, in the shelter of this religious protectorate, a political predominance with financial and industrial consequences; but, however that may be, I am quite sure that Bishop Bury and those Anglican ecclesiastics who are working with him are inspired only by religious motives.

On the day Bishop Bury met the Patriarch, Rome issued an Encyclical which is rightly described by the Russian *émigré* press (which is very hostile to it) as " of extreme importance for Russians " (*Za Svobodu*, Warsaw, November 15). In this Encyclical Pius XI joins an appeal for unity with a eulogy of St. Josaphat, a Uniat priest who was killed by the Russians on November 12, 1623, thereby indicating apparently that the Vatican has lost all hope of the Orthodox Russian Church joining Rome *en masse*, and that it now relies wholly on the Uniat movement. St. Josaphat bears the same relation to the Orthodox Russians as Father Campion, the Jesuit priest who was executed at Tyburn in Elizabeth's time, bears to the Anglicans.

Shortly after this Encyclical was published, the Papal Mission in Moscow suddenly found itself in a blind alley, so far as its negotiations with the Soviet Government were concerned. (Whether there be any connection or not between all these different events I cannot say.) Up to that time the Bolsheviks had encouraged it to remain as a relief mission, and had approved of its director leasing for a long period, as well as repairing and furnishing, a very large and expensive house next to the British Mission. About November 13 they suddenly became obstructive, and refused to agree with any proposition it made, their object being, apparently, to make the Pope establish regular diplomatic relations with them or else withdraw his mission. The Papal Mission may consequently leave Russia at any moment, and, if it does, the Catholic Church in Russia will have received a death-blow. Without Bishops, or higher direction, or the possibility of communicating with the Vatican, and with an extremely small number of priests, it cannot hope to survive.

The Soviet Government is trying to play off Canterbury against Rome and the new Orthodox Church against the old Orthodox Church. It tries to excite the apprehensions of the Patriarch and of the Anglicans by letting the Catholics acquire a huge building in the Povarskaya. Then it suddenly gratifies Tikhon by making it impossible for the Catholics to remain. It probably expects that its severity towards the Papal envoy, combined with its kindness

towards Tikhon and Bishop Bury and its permission of Anglo-Orthodox reunions, will soften the attitude of the English Die-hards towards itself and lead to the British Government according it *de jure* recognition. But these expectations alone show how imperfectly informed it is, and if further evidence on that point were needed, I would point to a paragraph in the *Izvestia* which describes Bishop Bury as an official Inspector of British Embassies, Legations, and Missions, a sort of twentieth-century Cardinal Wolsey going around giving orders to British Ambassadors. Its attempts to cause discord among Christian Churches may only result in the production of harmony (see p. 119), and there is not much danger, at this time of day, of religious differences being added to the other differences which divide France and England—France backing up the Catholic Czecho-Slovaks, Poles, and Belgians; England supporting the Prussians, the Russians, and other enemies of Rome.

Bishop Bury regards the position of the Russian Church as "graver now than it was eight months ago." He also authorizes me to make the following statement in his name: "Eighty-four Bishops have been expelled from their sees and over one thousand priests from their parishes, and the new Church is busily filling up these vacancies. Moreover, if the Patriarch dies without appointing a successor, the Patriarchate also may die. Tikhon is at present isolated in Moscow, and knows nothing of what is going on in other parts of Russia."

I quote this valuable testimony of Bishop Bury in support of the view whereon this whole book is based—namely, that the present position of the Russian Church is in the highest degree critical, and that the Bolshevik persecution of Christianity is now much worse, because much more subtle, than it was in March, 1923.

"CARDINAL GASPARRI'S OFFER"

"CARDINAL GASPARRI'S offer," mentioned on p. 19, in Appendix V and elsewhere, did not, in its final form, distinguish between the sacred vessels confiscated in Catholic churches and those confiscated in other churches. The

Holy See asked that all the objects directly consecrated to the service of religion should be respected, and it offered to contribute to the relief of the famine a sum equivalent to the value of these objects. This sum it intended to raise by an appeal to the whole world to save *all* the sacred treasures of Russia, and, if it had succeeded, it intended to return to every Orthodox parish the Eucharistic vessels of which those parishes had been deprived.

FATE OF CONDEMNED CATHOLIC PRIESTS

News received from Moscow on November 30, 1923, indicated that the Bolshevik persecution of Christianity has begun again. The Patriarch is under house-arrest, and Archbishop Hilarion, his principal assistant, is in prison. The one Catholic Seminary in Moscow (referred to on p. 145) has been raided by the police. Two of the ecclesiastical students were arrested, and the one professor, Father Nicholas, was arrested next day. All the books, etc., used in the seminary were confiscated. On the night of November 8, the one Moscow convent of Catholic nuns, to which I refer in this book, was also raided; and the Superioress (whose name in the world was Madame Abrikosova), together with seven or eight sisters, were taken to prison. Thirteen of the leading adherents of the Uniat Church have so far been arrested, and all the Uniat churches in Petrograd and Moscow are now closed and all the Uniat priests in jail or in exile; the whole Uniat movement in Russia may be regarded, humanly speaking, as crushed. In fact, Roman Catholicism in Russia may almost be regarded as crushed, for all its hierarchy and nearly all its senior priests have been imprisoned or else driven out of the country; and on November 23 Dr. Walsh, the Papal Delegate so frequently mentioned in the following pages, had to quit Russia owing to the intrusion of a Bolshevik functionary into his house. This leaves Roman Catholicism in Russia isolated and rudderless. Dr. Walsh reports that Archbishop Cieplak, whom he saw three weeks before, is very unlikely to live till the end of the year, and that Mgr. Maletzky has had a paralytic stroke. Father Eismont has lost his reason.

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PART I

RUSSIA

THE BOLSHEVIK PERSECUTION OF CHRISTIANITY

CHAPTER I

THE ATTACK ON THE RUSSIAN CHURCH

TALES of horror and mystery have come in large numbers from Russia during the last five years, but it is doubtful if any of them surpasses in horror and mystery the tale of how the Bolsheviks got possession of the administrative machinery of the Russian Church.

This tale has never yet been told in a connected narrative, probably because its very magnitude prevented it from being focussed by newspaper correspondents, whose business lies, after all, with the news of the day, and who are compelled, therefore, to treat current history in a piecemeal manner.

While never liking the Russian Government (the Kerensky *régime* can hardly be called a Government: it was only an interregnum between Nicholas II. and Lenin), most people in Great Britain and America have always entertained very friendly feelings for the kindly, gifted people of Russia. But for the last six years Englishmen and Americans have found themselves in the curious position of liking the Russian people more than ever, while detesting more than ever the Government which rules them.

It is as if an evil spirit had taken possession of a friend's body, and all our efforts to exorcize the demon only resulted in bodily injury to our friend while, similarly, all attempts to benefit our friend benefited also the demon. Thus, when the great famine of 1921 attacked Russia, many Englishmen and Americans were anxious to assist the starving peasants of the Volga, but were very afraid, at the same time, that

such assistance would only help the Bolsheviks. And the aid given certainly did help the Bolsheviks, who, thanks to the generous assistance they received from abroad, were able to spend on propaganda in the Near East, in India, and in England, large sums that they would otherwise have had to spend on the purchase of grain for the famine-stricken.

The Bolsheviks utilize every disaster which their misgovernment inflicts on the Russian people in order to improve their own international position. Thus, they utilized the famine in order to bring into the country a large number of American gentlemen to whom they have been explaining for the last two years the advantages which would accrue to the United States from the recognition of Russia, and the perfidy of the English in trying to get hold of all the Baku oil. There was even in Russia, till September, 1923, an official of the A.R.A. (as the American Relief Administration was called), who was practically an American consul, and had the right to issue *visas*.

The Bolsheviks even endeavour to utilize for their own advantage reproofs addressed to them by foreign Governments. In May, 1923, Mr. Litvinov replied to an ultimatum of Lord Curzon by airily suggesting an Anglo-Russian conference, the mere calling of which would, of course, enhance the Soviet Government's prestige.

Such is the dilemma we have to face in Russia. But when we turn to the question of the Church, we find ourselves confronted by an even worse dilemma. The Church of Russia, which we had long revered as one of the most ancient Churches in Christendom, has become possessed of a demon which has entered into the Patriarch's Palace, taken possession of all the ecclesiastical organization, gripped hold of the levers by which the whole mechanism is worked, and is now speaking to the faithful from behind the veil of the temple. This demon is, practically, a Bolshevik demon, for its Church *Sobor*, or Congress, held in the Cathedral of the Saviour, at Moscow, in May, 1923, formally blessed Bolshevism, which has thus received "religious" sanction. The ecclesiastical Board which directs the most important branch of the Eastern Church is, therefore, at present a Communist organization. The Patriarch is practically free—

as free almost as any other non-Bolshevik priest in Russia —but the Bolshevik demon is still in possession of the Church administration.

It has already gained over many Orthodox Christians; millions of the ignorant are certain to fall gradually under its influence; and it bids fair to become the National Church of Russia. In comparison with such a transformation as this, the Protestant Reformation was only a trifling difference of opinion among Christians; and the consequences of such a change in the religious orientation of a great people, who cover one-sixth of the land surface of the globe, may be stupendous and incalculable. If, for example, there are any great pan-Christian reunions in the future, the delegates of the second greatest Christian Church will all be Bolsheviks, and though they may be as little representative of Russian Christianity as the Bolshevik Government is of the Russian people, we must accept them as spokesmen of the Orthodox Church as, at the Genoa Conference in the spring of 1922, we had to accept Chicherin as the spokesman of all Russia.

The Russian Church may rise again, as the Tzardom may rise again; but, for the time being, both are fallen, and the fall of the Church is, perhaps, an event of even greater importance than the fall of the Tzar.

The collapse of the Church began early in the year 1922 with a conflict between Patriarch Tikhon and the Soviet Government. In January of that year the Soviet Government asked Patriarch Tikhon if the Church was prepared to contribute a portion of its valuables towards the Famine Fund. The Patriarch accepted the principle, and on February 15 issued a circular instruction permitting the handing over of such treasures as were not consecrated.

On February 23 the Presidium of the All-Russian Central Committee published a decree saying that, within one month, all valuable objects made of gold or silver or containing precious stones should be removed from ecclesiastical establishments and churches of all religions, and presented to a special famine fund. It was stipulated that the decree should not apply in the case of objects whose removal would "essentially affect the interests of the cult"—that is, presumably, of wonder-working ikons or relics which brought

in a steady revenue to certain churches, monasteries, and shrines.

According to the law of the Orthodox Church, consecrated objects must not be touched by laymen, and the execution of the above decree would therefore have involved sacrilege. The Patriarch accordingly issued a second circular to the clergy reminding them that, according to Canon Law, they would be liable to excommunication if they took part in handing over consecrated property. No suggestion was made that the clergy should resist the orders of the Government, but the clergy were warned by the Patriarch not to sign *procès verbaux* recording the confiscation of consecrated ecclesiastical property. The Soviet authorities lost no time in putting their decree into execution; and they applied it not only to Orthodox churches but to other churches as well. Some resistance took place in several provincial churches, especially at Shouya, near Vladimir, where the troops had to be called out, and where blood was spilt on both sides.

The decisive measures adopted by the Government to cope with any possible trouble and the condemnation to death of two priests responsible for the opposition at Shouya seem to have discouraged all ideas of active resistance among the Orthodox. Moreover, opposition was very much weakened, first by a violent but skilful campaign in the press accusing the hierarchy of the Church of counter-revolutionary tendencies and of treachery towards the starving population of the Volga, and, secondly, by the defection of a certain portion of the Orthodox clergy themselves—notably Bishop Antonin of Moscow, of whom I shall speak later.

The reluctance of the Church to place its resources at the disposal of the Relief Organizations was due to its distrust of the Bolshevik Government; but, as a matter of fact, in the early autumn of 1921 an Orthodox Church Committee was formed under the presidency of the Metropolitan of Moscow. Funds were collected by it, and these funds were handed over to the All-Russian Central Executive Committee when the Soviet Government refused to sanction the Orthodox Church Committee. Moreover, when Patriarch Tikhon was asked by the Soviet Government in January, 1922, if he would contribute Church property to the Famine Relief

Fund, he at once gave his consent. Nevertheless, the Church was rather slow. It was probably expecting the American Relief to be entrusted to the clergy, in accordance with the scheme which Mr. Crane had in his mind when he passed through Russia in 1922, and which he had probably communicated to Patriarch Tikhon.

In any case the Soviet Government was able not only to carry out with success the confiscation of Church property, but also to use, with great advantage to itself, the false position in which it placed the Church. Priests and laymen who opposed the spoliation of Church property were arrested. Several were tried and condemned. At Sudensk four laymen were condemned to death. At Rostov Bishop Arsenius was condemned to death, but the sentence was commuted to ten years' imprisonment. Numerous other arrests and a few death sentences were reported from the provinces, and some of the best-known ecclesiastics of Moscow are still in prison. The trial in this connection which caused the greatest sensation was that known as the " Trial of the Fifty-four," which ended in the condemnation to death at Moscow of eight priests and three others. In this case the severity of the sentences evidently alarmed the Soviet Government, for the popular newspapers said nothing of the death sentences, and conveyed the impression that all the accused had only been sentenced to one year's imprisonment. On the other hand, the *Pravda* and the *Izvestia,* which circulate among the official and educated classes, gave the sentences in full.

Nothing in the published evidence supported the Soviet Government's charge that the opposition to confiscation of Church property was part of a counter-revolutionary plot; and, indeed, the Church has laid itself open to the charge of excessive docility and supineness rather than to the charge of rebellion.

The Bolsheviks then declared that they would place the Patriarch on his trial for conspiracy against the Soviet Government; but we shall come to that later.

I might, however, say a few words here about the Church treasure which provoked all this trouble.

The total value of the gold confiscated from the Church

was nearly £50,000, and the value of the silver was £1,600,000. Besides gold and silver there was 84 poods* of other metals (platinum, etc.); 33,456 brilliants and diamonds (weight 10 *zolotniks* and 1,313 carats); 5,486 pearls and 27 strings of pearls (weight, 10 lbs. 74 *zol.* 100 carats); objects with precious stones 49 poods, 24 lbs. 39 *zol.* The Soviet Government calculated that it would get 800 million gold roubles out of the plunder of the churches, but it got much less, and most of the cash derived from the sale of what it got was not contributed towards the relief of the famine-stricken.

As a matter of fact the Bolsheviks worried themselves very little about the famine. They never parted with a single one of the Crown jewels, which were valued by Mr. Goodrich, an American gentleman who saw them, at a milliard of gold roubles, and which were recently exhibited in the Kremlin to a number of newspaper correspondents. They had not enough money to buy grain for the starving peasantry of the Volga, but they always had plenty for Communists in India, Persia, Great Britain, and the Ruhr. Even now, when over a million poor people in Russia are without sufficient food to carry them over the next three months, the Soviet is exporting grain to Germany and Italy. And what, exactly, did it get by its expropriation of altar plate? On that point it is strangely reticent. Vague statements have been published about a small quantity of grain having been bought in Finland; but nothing like a satisfactory report has yet been published. A considerable quantity of altar plate was recently offered to a Jewish firm doing business in Russia, but this firm, seeing that the speculation was a Commissar's private deal which had nothing to do with famine relief, and disliking the idea of handling eucharistic vessels under such circumstances, promptly turned the offer down. These honest Jews are not Russian, but, for obvious reasons, I must not give their names.

Why did the Bolsheviks make such a gratuitous attack on the Church? Why did they go to such trouble to get Church treasure, which, as they must have known before-

* One pood=36·11 lbs. avoirdupois. One zolotnik=2·40 drachms.

ANTI-RELIGIOUS PROCESSION.
With caricature of Buddha.

ANTI-RELIGIOUS PROCESSION.
With caricature of Russian Orthodox priest.

hand, was not worth all the bloodshed, excitement, and confusion which the seizure of it provoked ?

The Reds had more reasons than one for attacking the Church. They wanted to overthrow the Patriarch, who had anathematized them and sent them, on several occasions, strong remonstrances with regard to the murders they had committed and the attacks they had made on Christianity. They also wanted to overthrow the Church, which they regarded, quite rightly, as an obstacle to the accomplishment of their Communistic schemes.

But there was another reason, which is somewhat more difficult to explain, and this reason was given me, I may mention, by one of the ablest conservatives still left in Russia.

Incredible as it may seem, the recent attack on the Church and the gratuitous attacks of all kinds in which the Soviet Government has been indulging of late are due largely to the growth of an opposition inside the Communist Party. Since March, 1921, when Lenin adopted the New Economic Policy, the doctrines of Communism have been disappearing from the Government programme, while the pretended millennium, in the shape of world-revolution, seems to be receding farther and farther into the dim future. The Conferences at Genoa, the Hague, and Lausanne had brought the Bolsheviks into sharp contact with those economic realities whose existence they persisted till then in ignoring, and the result of these Conferences has been the abandonment of the few remaining Marxist maxims to which they still clung. In fact, Marxism is a word that is not mentioned now in the best Bolshevik circles ; " Leninism " has taken its place.

It was, then, for the purpose of reaffirming their authority at home and reconciling a disenchanted following to further concessions that the Bolsheviks decided to attack the only institution which had survived from the pre-revolutionary era—namely, the Orthodox hierarchy. They hoped, by doing so, to keep up the fanaticism of their followers, and, judging from my own personal experience of them, the Communist leaders fear nothing so much at the present moment as lukewarmness.

It is a constant characteristic of the Bolsheviks that they

follow the line of most resistance. They seem to seek difficulties instead of trying to avoid them. They go out of their way in order to smash and destroy, where the statesmen of any other country or any other age would prefer conciliation or compromise or craft. They periodically reduce the numerical strength of their party by what they call a "purge" of the less fanatical elements, where a Western politician would try to win new followers. Why is this? My explanation is that they hope by doing so to keep up the fanaticism of their followers, for the smashing down of obstacles does generate heat; the rejection of lukewarm matter from a composite mass, whereof some parts are very hot, does raise the mean temperature of the whole; and the Bolshevik leaders fear nothing so much at the present moment as tepidity. They realize that their Reds must be red-hot or cease to be red; and once its janissaries cease to be red, the Soviet Government will cease to exist.

Talking to me once, in the Kremlin, of a Red propaganda meeting which I had attended the day before, Karl Radek surprised me by the feverish energy with which he asserted that the revolutionary fervour of the Bolsheviks was as hot as ever. The way he emphasized this point, the note of anxiety which I detected in his voice, and the utter absence of enthusiasm which I had observed at the meeting in question, betrayed to me, however, his fear that Red Russia was cooling. The existence of this fear explains many things —the recent attacks on all religions; the abominable and blasphemous processions in all the great Russian cities last Christmas; the ferocious onslaughts on foreign countries which are being continually indulged in by Bolshevik newspapers and Bolshevik orators, even when the Soviet Government is most anxious to conciliate foreign opinion and to attract foreign capital; and the subsidizing of Indian and English revolutionaries at the very moment when Moscow is most anxious to placate Great Britain.

Why do not the Bolshevik leaders cease their furious and exhausting efforts to keep their followers at a temperature which certainly cannot be maintained for long, and which has already gone down many degrees during the last six months? Why do they not seek support instead among the

great number of moderate, non-party men whom I met in Russia, and whose horror of revolution is so great, after what they have suffered during the last five years, that they would support even the Soviet Government against the social revolutionaries and the Monarchists, or any of its other enemies, if only the Bolsheviks showed the least trace of moderation and common sense? Well, the answer is that the Bolsheviks profoundly distrust every party in Russia save their own; they feel that if once they lost the support of their Reds they themselves would be lost. Consequently, when the Die-hards among these Reds are attacked by a madness which makes them demand the perpetration of atrocities calculated needlessly to harm the Soviet Government in the eyes of moderate "comrades" at home and abroad, and of Western nations which are inclined to tolerate the Bolshevik tyranny for business reasons, the Red leaders dare not oppose their Die-hards. Those leaders find themselves confronted, therefore, by a dilemma. They want their followers to be hot, and are alarmed by the gradual loss of heat which is taking place in the party generally; but they are equally alarmed by the outbursts of revolutionary fury which take place periodically among their extremists. Krassin, Litvinov, and Chicherin disapproved of Mgr. Budkiewicz's murder, but were afraid to say so, though the storm which that murder provoked abroad frightened the Soviet Government into subsequently releasing the Patriarch. I need hardly add that the comparative moderation of some Bolshevik leaders is infinitely more dangerous to Christianity than the blind fury of the more ignorant and fanatical among the Communists.

The Bolshevik Ishmaels are excessively lonely, isolated, and nervous. All their plans for bringing about a world-revolution have failed, and they still find themselves the only Communist State in the world, with deadly and powerful enemies all around them. These enemies are wealthy, and their wealth enables them—so the Bolsheviks think—to buy the best brains in the world, and even, sometimes, to buy the very agents whom the Soviet Government sends to plot against them. In the first flush of his optimism on the subject of what he called "a heavy civil war in all countries,"

Lenin must have spent the equivalent of at least a million pounds sterling on foreign "comrades" who convinced him that revolutions were about to take place in France, Italy, Great Britain, India, China, and America; but some of these trusty agents invested the money in British War Stock and in Liberty Loan Bonds and developed strongly conservative tendencies. How many shocks of this kind Lenin received will probably never be known; but they must have been numerous enough to contribute towards his present physical and mental collapse.

Under these circumstances the Bolsheviks became more and more convinced that their only hope lay in their own Reds whom they had maddened by propaganda, and in the young whom they had carefully fed on the most anti-Christian intellectual fare. But now they find that the Red extremists have, as I just stated, developed an insatiable and inopportune appetite for blood. This appetite the Soviet Government must gratify at all costs; and, at the same time, that Government finds itself obliged to attract foreign capitalists, whose money is absolutely necessary to it. These two things are incompatible. If the Soviet keeps its followers red-hot, it will antagonize foreign capitalists; if it takes any steps to remove the apprehensions of foreign capitalists, it will reduce the temperature of the Communist engine which alone enables the Soviet Government to exist. Hence Moscow's two voices. Hence the attack on Christianity in Russia, and, at the same time, Krassin's bland assurances to London that "there is no religious persecution."

CHAPTER II

A MORE DETAILED ACCOUNT OF THE FACTS SET FORTH IN THE PRECEDING CHAPTER

THE history of the squabble about Church treasure which led to the deposition of Patriarch Tikhon is so involved that I have given in the preceding chapter a short summary of it, and propose to give further details here.

Before starting to do so, I would like to remark that, when the crisis of the Church's fortunes came, there seemed to be no ecclesiastic strong enough to save the crumbling edifice, just as, in November, 1917, there was no statesman or soldier strong enough to prevent the Government of Russia being seized by the Bolsheviks. But even if there had been a great military leader on the latter occasion and a great ecclesiastical leader on the former, it is doubtful if either of them could have done anything decisive, for decisive action presupposes organization, and Russia is, in all respects, a loosely organized country. Moreover, in 1917 and in 1921 it was utterly demoralized, cowed, and apathetic. A Napoleon can do nothing if his soldiers do not obey him, and do not even trouble to take the cigarettes out of their mouths when he is giving orders to them. An Ambrose of Milan can do nothing if his clergy do not support him as one man. Neither can do anything if all means of publicity and communication are in the hands of enemies, for then he loses his power of acting on large masses at once, and his influence is confined to a small group in his immediate vicinity. Moreover, Russia—huge, inchoate, ignorant—is a very different country from the Italy of St. Ambrose or the France of Napoleon.

Bishop Anthony, the ex-Metropolitan of Kiev, might have been able to do something if he were not a pronounced Monarchist, and therefore out of touch with Russian opinion,

for even Conservative Russians in Russia do not want the re-establishment of the Tzardom, as that would, in their opinion, lead only to another revolution, and they have had enough of revolution to last them for the next thousand years. The Tzardom is not wanted, for its neglect to educate the people in self-government and its conversion of the Church into a Department of State destroyed in both cases all power of wise initiative and led to that lack of competent statesmen and ecclesiastics whereof I have just spoken.

The general opinion among the higher clergy of the Russian Church is that Patriarch Tikhon also showed himself unequal to the situation.* I have told above how he agreed at first to contribute Church ornaments towards the Famine Fund. One ecclesiastical authority in Moscow told me that, in thus agreeing, the Patriarch offended the faithful without pleasing the Communists.

"Voices were heard," he said, "accusing the Patriarch of weakness and excessive subservience. This is explained by the fact that for many centuries the people had grown up and been educated in the conviction that Church valuables were given to God and were inalienable. Then, again, no confidence was placed in the promise of the Government that it would utilize the money obtained from the sale of the Church valuables exclusively for the purchase of corn for food and for sowing. In view of the well-known dishonesty and disorder which existed in the lower government organizations, it seemed probable that some of the valuables would be stolen during the confiscation.

"There seemed no doubt that the Soviet Government

* Those words were written in the autumn of 1922. In 1920 I had an interview with the Patriarch, of whom I gave the following description in my *Prisoner of the Reds:* "He is a tall man of about sixty, with shrewd grey eyes and a florid, healthy face—the face of a peasant. In the conversation he struck me as simple in the ways of the world, but fearless and sincere. He is as different from, say, Cardinal Mercier as the Orthodox Church is different from the Roman. . . . Cardinal Mercier is a highly educated man with Latin energy and initiative. Patriarch Tikhon is a pious, unsophisticated monk . . . with more than a touch of Russian fatalism and apathy."

would utilize the valuables which it seized for ends having nothing to do with famine relief; and that, in any case, some of the money obtained from the sale of those valuables would be used to cover the endless current needs of the Government. It is true that the priests were allowed to participate in the distribution of the contributions, and, consequently, some control was possible from their side. But the Government would not have the slightest difficulty in freeing itself from this control, under one pretext or another, as soon as it had obtained possession of the valuables and as soon as this control had become embarrassing. And what guarantee could there be in any case against misuse, in view of the absence of a free press and of guarantees of inviolability ?"

" The Communists," continued the same authority, " were discontented with the Patriarch's appeal, as it did not clearly order the priests to contribute the pearls, precious stones, and precious metals which were nearly all affixed to the holy images. The Patriarch's appeal was indefinite, and therein lay its weakness. It did not make quite clear whether the ornaments of images with their precious stones were a part of the Church property which might be offered up for the needs of the famine-stricken. As the contribution of things ' not used for Divine Service ' and ' offered for the adornment of ikons ' was permitted, and as these ornaments were not used for Divine Service and were offered for the adornment of ikons, they might therefore be legitimately included in the category of things marked for contribution. But, unfortunately, nothing clear and definite was said on this subject."

By allowing the Patriarch's appeal to be printed and distributed, the Central Famine Committee showed that the civil power was content with the ecclesiastical contribution; but, on the other hand, there were anti-clericals, such as Galkin (afterwards Chief Judge at the trial of Archbishop Cieplak), Gorev, and others, who scoffed at the smallness of the help proffered by the Church. After the publication of the appeal, an article appeared in the *Pravda* over Gorev's signature entitled " The Mountain brings forth a Mouse," and this was followed by a series of bitter attacks on the

Patriarch in the Government newspapers and in placards pasted on the walls. The Bolshevik leaders followed up these attacks by deciding that the Church valuables should be contributed, not by the Church, but by the State. The Soviet Government has always, of course, had a very strong preference for giving foreign charity to the people instead of allowing foreigners to give it directly. It insisted on the English Quakers and the English " Save the Children Fund " giving to the Government for distribution the relief which they had brought from England for the Russian people, and it even insisted very strongly at first that the American relief should be administered entirely by agents of the Soviet Government, though it finally dropped this demand in view of the uncompromising stand made by Mr. Brown.

On February 23, 1922, the Central Executive Committee accordingly decreed that all Church valuables, including vessels used for Divine Service, should be contributed to the Famine Fund. This decree placed the Patriarch in an ambiguous position, for in his edict of February 6 he had informed the faithful that the civil power had accepted his proposal to contribute Church valuables, and the faithful had therefore concluded that a satisfactory agreement had been reached between the Patriarch and the Government. When the Central Executive Committee's decree came out, it gave some people the impression that the Patriarch had concealed from them the real meaning of the agreement. The press attacks on the Patriarch became, consequently, so bitter that, on February 25, 1922, Tikhon wrote to Kalinin, the President of the All-Russian Executive Committee, asking (somewhat naïvely) that these attacks should cease. Tikhon also asked that the Central Famine Committee should abide by paragraph 2 of his (the Patriarch's) original offer, whereby Church valuables were to be offered (not forcibly confiscated), checked, and then handed over to the Famine Committee with the consent of the faithful. Finally, Tikhon warned Kalinin that, in the event of his request being refused, he would inform the faithful that he had been misled by the Famine Committee, not only verbally, but even in written documents which he had received from it.

To this letter the Patriarch received no reply, and

therefore, on March 2, he issued a second edict in which he explained the position and the Church's view of the confiscation of consecrated objects. Without doubt there would have been no conflict between the Church and State if the civil power, before issuing its confiscation decree, had asked the Patriarch to explain the conditions under which this confiscation would not have been offensive to the faithful. In his edict of March 2, as in his first edict, the Patriarch encouraged the faithful to offer Church objects which were not used for Divine Service, and only protested against the confiscation of vessels, etc., which were so used.

Gold vessels are rare in the Russian churches, whose chalices are usually of silver gilt; and the quantity of silver in these chalices represents a very insignificant proportion of the total amount of silver in the churches. Therefore the Famine Fund would have lost very little if, in its confiscation of ecclesiastical ornaments, the Government had made an exception in the case of Eucharistic vessels.

A high ecclesiastic who stood at Tikhon's side throughout all this troubled period informed me that, in his protest of March 2, the Patriarch had no intention of inciting the faithful to oppose by physical force any attempt by the Government soldiers to requisition Church property. In his earlier edict, on the contrary, the Patriarch had condemned bloodshed and civil war; and on April 11, in a circular letter to the Bishops, he condemned active opposition to the Government such as had taken place at Shouya, Smolensk, Rostov-on-Don, and at Dorogomilov in Moscow, and earnestly begged the Bishops to dissuade the faithful from the use of violence.

The theologians who surrounded Tikhon searched ecclesiastical history for precedents for the Patriarch's opposition to the civil power in this matter of confiscation, and they had no difficulty in finding plenty of them. St. Ambrose of Milan, a great saint, recognized both by the Latin and the Greek Churches, refused to obey the order of Valentinian II. to hand over the Slavonic Basilica to the Arians, and the Metropolitan Philip publicly denounced Ivan the Terrible for his savage executions; so that if these great ecclesiastics were right in opposing Christian rulers, Tikhon was

no less right in opposing the present atheistical Government of Russia.

The Patriarch had no secret political motive in thus attacking the Soviet Government on one point where it acted in direct opposition to canon law; but, nevertheless, the Soviet press assailed him violently on account of his second edict. The Patriarch and the priests were accused of greed and avarice, though Church valuables had never been used to satisfy the material needs of the clergy. Tikhon was told that he had forgotten the laws of Christ, and placed gold before human life by refusing to help people condemned to die of hunger. Anyone who knows how able and insidious Bolshevik propaganda can be, will readily understand how dangerous to the prestige of the Church these attacks were; and as there is no press in Russia except the official press, there was no possibility of refuting these calumnies. Had there been any such possibility, it could have been pointed out that the whole controversial storm raged around a very insignificant part of the Church valuables, a part, moreover, for which the faithful could, to a certain extent, have offered an equivalent in the shape of unconsecrated valuables or of foodstuffs. The Patriarch was denounced as the initiator of a political plot directed against the Soviet Government, though no proof of this serious accusation was ever put forward.

The chief priest of the Moscow diocese—the Metropolitan Evsevy-Krutitzky—died in the beginning of February 1922, and the Patriarch appointed Archbishop Nikander as his successor. I may explain that the Orthodox Church in Russia is ruled by Bishops through senior priests who are called "heads of dioceses," these being the same as Deans in the Roman Catholic Church or Archdeacons in the Church of England. A diocese is composed of about twenty parishes, and through the "head of the diocese" the Bishop deals with the parish priest. Having given this explanation to the reader, I shall return to Archbishop Nikander. Wishing to acquaint himself with the condition of religious life in Moscow and to meet his clergy, this ecclesiastic summoned a conference of the heads of dioceses for February 27. It was after this conference broke up that the decree of the All-

Russian Central Executive Committee was published; and, in order to consider it, Nikander called a second conference. This conference met on March 7, and came to a very sensible decision. It decided not to resist the Government by force or encourage the people to do so, but to point out to the faithful the legal way of defending the sacred vessels and at the same time of expressing their feelings. This way was to send petitions to the Government begging it to exclude sacred vessels from the list of objects to be requisitioned, or to allow unconsecrated objects of the same metal and of equal value to be handed over in lieu of consecrated vessels; and an offer to this effect was formally made to the Soviet Government by Archbishop Nikander.

The Government paid no attention, however, to this offer, just as, in May, 1922, it paid no attention to Cardinal Gasparri's offer to pay cash for the Eucharistic vessels that had been confiscated, ostensibly for famine relief purposes, in the Roman Catholic churches of Petrograd, though this offer of the Vatican, which was courteously received by M. Chicherin, offered by far the best way out of the difficulty. Both Archbishop Nikander and Cardinal Gasparri made the same mistake, however, of thinking that the Bolsheviks were really interested in feeding the hungry. All they were interested in was the discovery of a good war-cry for the horde of Red iconoclasts whom they were determined to let loose both on the Eastern and on the Western Church.

The only reply the Soviet Government made to Archbishop Nikander's offer was the wholesale arrest of the Moscow priests, just as the only reply of the Soviet Government to Cardinal Gasparri's offer was the wholesale arrest of the Roman Catholic priests in Petrograd. Among the Orthodox clergy who were arrested on this occasion, and who are still in prison, were Archbishops Nikander and Seraphim, Bishop Ilarion, almost all the members of the Supreme Church Administration and the Moscow Eparchial (Diocesan) Council, as well as many distinguished priests. The general explanation of the sudden arrests was that, being determined to confiscate the sacred vessels, and fearing opposition from the faithful, the Government decided to remove beforehand those ecclesiastics who might have headed a movement of

opposition. Then the confiscations began, the same procedure being repeated everywhere. First the church wherein the confiscations were to be effected was surrounded by armed soldiers, both cavalry and infantry. The doors were closed, and nobody was allowed inside save the priests and the representatives of the people. At some distance from the church a crowd always collected; and to judge from its cries it was invariably hostile to the Government representatives, who were called "atheists," "plunderers," "oppressors." Some little boys threw sticks and stones at the Red soldiers and then ran away. Spies mixed with the people, noted down those who were most outspoken in their criticism, and then denounced them to the police, or sometimes provoked men to criticize and then had them arrested.

This typical scene was repeated all over Russia, and it seemed as if a new terror were about to be unloosed. Most of the priests sided with the Patriarch, but a few Bishops and priests opposed the Patriarch and even denounced him in the press. Among these were Bishop Antonin, who had been living in retirement in Moscow, Bishop Evdokim of Nizhni-Novgorod, a group of Petrograd priests led by Father Vvedensky, and two Moscow priests—Kalinovsky and Borisov. Needless to say, the action of these dissenters was highly praised in the Government press.

The Bolsheviks formed a very different estimate of the numerical strength of the two parties in the Church. According to them, all the trouble was caused by the Patriarch and an influential though numerically insignificant group of Bishops. These forced the lower clergy to act, though, as a matter of fact, the lower clergy in Russia are not as a rule in sympathy with their ecclesiastical superiors. They were afraid of their ecclesiastical superiors, and, blindly obeying the instructions given them, they inflamed the fanaticism of the masses. Such was the Bolshevik view.

Representing, as it does, a party which forms a very small minority in the country, and feeling acutely that the great mass of the people regards it with deep distrust, the Soviet power is always haunted by the fear that somebody is conspiring against it, and always, therefore, on the look-

out for counter-revolutionary plots. Its extreme fear for its existence causes it to do as Abdul Hamid and other tyrants were several times provoked to do by the same cause; through its G.P.U.* it lashes out blindly, killing right and left, just as Abdul Hamid lashed out more than once, through his Kurds, at the unfortunate Armenians. A similar mad outburst of fear and cruelty took place in Russia in the spring of 1923, and culminated in the murder of Monsignor Budkiewicz. To what causes that fear was due I shall explain in detail later.

In the eyes of such a Government, opposition to the confiscation of the Church treasures became a widespread political plot, having for its object the overthrow of the Soviet Government, and using the Church as its principal weapon. It must be admitted that the action of the Russian emigrants abroad supplied ample food for these suspicions. In 1921 those Russians organized at Karlowitz a Supreme Church Administration with the Metropolitan Anthony at its head; and in December, 1921, as the reader is probably aware, this administration summoned an All-Russian Church Assembly which proclaimed the re-establishment in Russia of the monarchy and the Romanov dynasty. Inasmuch as this external Supreme Church Administration had been sanctioned by the Patriarch, the latter—and, consequently, the clergy within the confines of Russia—had to bear the odium of this Church Assembly's unwise action. The Patriarch was obliged to dissolve the Supreme Church Administration at Karlowitz and to deprive it of his blessing by a special decree of the Holy Synod in Moscow.

The actions and speeches of individual Bishops and priests favourable to the Government inspired the latter with the hope that internal dissensions would bring the whole Church down, and the official press loudly rejoiced at the growth of schism in the Orthodox fold. Meanwhile the Government determined to terrorize the leading representa-

* Gosudarstvennoe Politicheskoe Upravlenie, or State Political Department, formerly known as the Extraordinary Commission, or the Cheka. This is the secret police. For further particulars see Glossary at the end of this book.

tives of the Church and to break up the whole ecclesiastical organization.

In the prosecutions instituted in connection with the disturbances that arose on the occasion of the confiscation of Church property, persons of secondary importance were first prosecuted and then those who were regarded as the ringleaders. Next, fifty-four persons, including seven Archdeacons and several priests and deacons, were brought before the courts. Afterwards came the trial of Bishops Nikander and Ilarion, the members of the Supreme Church Administration, and the most eminent representatives of the Moscow priesthood. The trial of the Patriarch was to come last of all.

The "Trial of the Fifty-four," as it was called, began on April 26, 1922, and finished on May 6. The accused were divided into several groups, the first group being composed of deacons charged with having taken part in popular tumults. Members of this group were liberated on the ground that they had acted under the orders of the priests. The priests, who composed the second group, were charged with the crime of having called upon the faithful to resist the authority of the Government. The third group consisted of seven Archdeacons, who were charged with having taken part in a conference with Archbishop Nikander. They could also have been charged with having opposed the Government measures with regard to religious teaching, but the accusers did not wish to recognize the existence of religion at all, and wished to explain to themselves the action of the clergy on purely political and interested grounds. It is noteworthy, by the way, that at the trial of the Roman Catholic clergy in March, 1923, the Public Prosecutor abandoned this materialistic interpretation—which is, of course, one of the principal dogmas of Marxist philosophy—and admitted that even priests can be actuated by religious motives. He also described the Exarch Fedorov as "a fanatic."

But in 1922 the Bolsheviks still believed, or affected to believe, that, so far at least as the clergy are concerned, religion is only practised for material profit. A quotation from the indictment read at the trial of the fifty-four may

not be out of place here, as it shows the mentality of the prosecution better than any description would do.

"The decrees of the Central Executive Committee regarding confiscation of Church treasures," says this indictment, "called forth a violent protest from that section of the clergy which, having been deprived during the preceding four years of its previous greatness, had already entered several times into strife with Soviet Russia, and had aided the regiments of landowners and capitalists in their struggle with the workmen and peasants of the Red Army. . . . Taking advantage of the famine on the Volga, and relying on old people, fanatics, weak-minded persons, and hooligans, and concealing their selfish objects under the cloak of religion, they are again trying to enter into conflict with Soviet Russia. By proclaiming the Church valuables inviolable, despite the categorical decision of the Soviet power to take these valuables for the purpose of buying bread with them for the hungry, they thereby incited the masses of the people to engage in civil war. The accused could not be ignorant of the fact that the appeal of Tikhon, who openly summoned the people to oppose the civil power, is undoubtedly a counter-revolutionary act, for which reason the charge against them cannot be reduced to a charge of merely resisting the authorities. By refusing assistance to the starving, Tikhon is guilty of another counter-revolutionary act against the Government of Workmen and Peasants and of favouring the return of Russia to its former state, in order that he may regain his own lost rights and privileges as well as the abundant wealth which the Soviet power is at present giving to the starving with the object of saving their lives."

The weakness of this charge is evident, and the prosecution could not find a single fact wherewith to support it.

On May 4 a sensation was caused by the appearance in court of the Patriarch and Archbishop Nikander as witnesses. They had been summoned by the prosecution, and the examination of the Patriarch lasted from eleven to one at night. The Patriarch bore himself well, and even the official report in the *Izvestia* (May 6, 1922, No. 99) spoke of the old man's dignified demeanour. When he entered the over-

crowded hall everyone present stood up; and when, in the middle of the examination, the Procurator, a rude fellow who had browbeaten the other accused all the way through, turned to him with an insulting question, there arose such loud protests in the body of the court that the trial had to be interrupted and some of the public turned away.

The Patriarch declared to the court that he found himself compelled, in accordance with the Church's laws, to condemn the confiscation of consecrated objects; that, in the event of conflict between the civil law and the canon law, he considered it his duty to obey the canon law; and that he took on himself full responsibility for the drawing up, publication, and distribution of his edict of March 2.

On the basis of this evidence the court, on the demand of the prosecution, at once ordered the Patriarch to be tried, as the principal culprit, on the same charge as "the fifty-four"—that is, the charge of having "incited the masses of the people to engage in civil war." It also ordered the trial—again on the same charge—of Archbishop Nikander and all the Moscow Archdeacons who had attended the meeting held by Archbishop Nikander on March 7, but who had not, so far, been arrested.

The result of the trial was that eight priests and three deacons were condemned to death. On learning of this, the Patriarch at once wrote from his place of confinement three letters—one to the Council of People's Commissars, one to the President of the All-Russian Executive Committee (Kalinin), and one to Kursky, Commissar for Justice. In these letters Tikhon protested that the punishment was out of all proportion to the charges brought against the accused; pointed out the injustice of condemning subordinate servants of the Church, who, by the rules of their religion, were obliged to obey without question the orders of their ecclesiastical superiors; and, taking all responsibility on himself, asked that his life should be taken in their stead.

Eleven capital sentences were passed upon people who had all of them acted only from religious motives. Some of them had done nothing more than sign a petition for the exclusion of the sacred vessels from the list of objects to be

confiscated, at the same time offering articles of the same value in exchange.

How the Bolsheviks managed to reconcile this manifest disinterestedness and self-sacrifice with their materialistic philosophy I do not know. To my mind it was the first flash of celestial light that pierced the European gloom. None of the fierce passions aroused in the heat of the Great War was so ominous and so alarming as the apathy which settled down on Europe as soon as the war had come to an end, and which seemed to paralyze the spiritual life and all the higher instincts of every nation. The race of man had been exhausted to death by the terrible ordeal through which it had just passed, and this exhaustion produced selfishness, narrowness, cynicism, unbelief, a bankruptcy of all generous emotions, an unquenchable thirst for money and for pleasure, class hatred, and rank materialism. Men seemed to think only in terms of hard cash, barter, huxter, raw material, and new markets; and the darkest corner of the whole sombre picture was Red Russia. There, materialism was enthroned and worshipped as a god. The Bolshevik newspapers never spoke of religion save in terms of hatred and contempt, and were filled day after day—as they are still filled—with long, heavy articles on economics and industry. Russia was the darkest corner of the whole gloomy picture, and the city of Petrograd was the darkest corner of Russia, yet it was from Russia and from Petrograd that the first glimmer of dawn came. It came when fifty-four men and women of the Orthodox Church faced death cheerfully for a principle—the same principle, in effect, as that for which many martyrs of the Church had died.

CHAPTER III

THE FOUNDING OF THE RED CHURCH

An appalling impression was made on all Christians in Russia by these eleven death sentences; nevertheless, not one Orthodox Russian dared to come forward with a petition for the pardon of the condemned men. The only members of the general public to beg for a remission of the sentences were some followers of Tolstoi, several schismatics, and a few Jews. Orthodox congregations were the only ones to keep silent. How can this strange circumstance be explained? The reason was that the Orthodox congregations were afraid that, by protesting, they would do more harm than good to the condemned ecclesiastics. People in close touch with the Government and well acquainted with the mentality of the Communist Politbureau (Political Bureau), which dictates to the Government and the courts, whispered to the faithful that the more they pressed for a reprieve the more their insistence would testify to the influence of the condemned men over the masses; and as the Government has an intense fear of any adverse influence over the people, it is pitiless towards the men who wield such influence.

This, at all events, is the explanation which was given me by authoritative spokesmen of the Orthodox Church; but I am afraid that there was, and is, in that Church too much apathy and caution. A Christianity which is too cautious never makes much headway.

An appeal to the All-Russian Central Executive Committee on behalf of the accused was refused, but the All-Russian Central Committee commuted six of the death sentences. The priests Zaozerski, Sokolov, Nadejdin, and Telegin, and the deacon Tikhomirov, were, however, executed.

Death sentences were also pronounced at Shouya, Novgorod, and Novocherkask; but in other places the leading Bishops and priests were thrown into prison to await their trial. The object of the Government was attained, however. The clergy were terrorized. The average Orthodox Christian remained silent, paralyzed with fear. A number of Bishops and priests even came forward to bless a cynical and godless Government, and to start "reforming" and "revivifying" the Church. The Bolsheviks have certainly some reason to say that they were victorious in this their first serious encounter with the greatest organized force in Russia, apart from Bolshevism itself. History must record the fact that, in 1922, Russian Orthodox soldiers plundered churches at the bidding of a Government consisting wholly of atheists and anti-clericals. They threw into sacks the chalices to which, ten years ago, they attributed supernatural powers. They tied up priests whom they looked upon, ten years ago, as wonder-workers, able to blast them with a curse. They shot down fellow-Christians for attempting to defend their churches; and, lastly, they executed ordained priests of God. It is no use saying that it was Jews, Letts, and Chinamen who did this; the men who did the work were, unfortunately, Russians, and, furthermore, the country as a whole did not express its displeasure by the general insurrection that one would have expected. We must face the fact that the Eastern Church is being pulled down in Russia as the Western Church was pulled down in England by Henry VIII. The Young Russian *muzhiks* (in the uniform of Red soldiers) have driven priests out of their churches just as the young English soldiers of Henry VIII's time drove the Benedictines, the Dominicans, and the Franciscans from their monasteries; and the Red *muzhik* seems to have been as little affected as the soldiers of Thomas Cromwell by the major excommunication which his action, *ipso facto*, entailed. This is a very important point. It marks the beginning of an epoch. Of course, the apparent English parallel does not run parallel for very far. Russia has no Rome to cut herself adrift from: Peter the Great cut her adrift from Constantinople. The men who separated England from Rome were Englishmen and

Christians, while the men who are pulling down the Christian Church in Russia are not themselves Christians, and in many cases not themselves Russians. England, so Anglicans believe, continued the Church by appointing Bishops and priests; while the Soviet Government would sooner end the Church than mend it. Henry VIII began by dissolving the monasteries and confiscating their lands and goods, while at first the Bolsheviks confiscated only the valuables contained in the monasteries. In 1922 the Russian monasteries were not so well worth confiscating, however, as the English monasteries were. They had little land left, for, after the first revolution, the peasants had seized, illegally, on their vast estates. They had no money, and most of the monastic buildings would be of no use to the Government and to the people owing to the out-of-the-way places in which they are generally situated. The turn of the monasteries came later. In May, 1923, the Red Church Congress decreed their dissolution.

In the first year of its existence (1917-18) the Communist Government of Russia looked on religion with contempt, and underestimated its force. It thought that if it deprived the Church of its material resources, opened saints' tombs in order to show that bodies which the Church had declared to be incorruptible had decayed like other human bodies, and carried on, in public, religious discussions between uneducated priests and learned agnostics, the roots which Eastern Christianity had fixed in the soul of the Russian people would quickly die. A great Russian ecclesiastic told me, when I was in Moscow in 1923, that " events have proved the Government to have been wrong in this estimate. Religion in Russia has been cleansed and strengthened by persecution and repression. It was only when the Government began to confiscate ecclesiastical property that it realized, with somewhat of a shock, how strong and well organized the Church was; so it decided either to destroy the Church or to bring it into subjection."

At first, apparently, the intention was to declare the whole organization of the Church illegal and inadmissible. During the trial of the fifty-four, one frequently heard the President of the court and the Procurator speak of the ecclesiastical

hierarchy's existence as "illegal." The official *Izvestia* read the same meaning into the decree separating Church and State. "The mere fact of the Archdeacons having met together at Bishop Nikander's," wrote the *Izvestia*, "proves, when taken in connection with all the other evidence, the existence of a 'special hierarchy,' constituting something in the nature of an independent State within the territory of Soviet Russia. Yet, according to the decree separating Church and State, the existence in this country of a 'Church hierarchy,' as such, is impossible. That decree allows only the existence of separate religious communities, not joined together by any administrative authority and freely electing their clergy, who most certainly must not be confirmed by 'Episcopal Councils'" (*Izvestia*, May 6, 1922, No. 99).

Since articles of this kind in the official *Izvestia* always heralded new ordinances of the Government and revealed the Government's intentions, and since previous attempts had been made to declare the central administrative machinery of the Church illegal, it was natural to expect the interdiction of all administrative units within the Church, beginning with the Archidiaconal circuits and ending with the Supreme Church Administration. The Orthodox hierarchy was therefore alarmed, for in the Greek Church the episcopal constitution and the union of communities in the body of the Church constitute a dogma, and the interdiction of the Church hierarchy as such would create an acute conflict between the religious conscience of the people and the demands of the civil power. Moreover, such a view of the relations between Church and State would affect not only the Orthodox Church, but all Churches in Russia. It would strike at the Roman Catholic Church, at the Lutheran Church, at the Jews, and at the Mohammedans—all of which religious bodies are united around central organizations. These considerations seem to have prevented the Soviet Government from entering in May, 1922, into a life-and-death struggle with the Orthodox Church on the subject of that Church's hierarchical structure. Moreover, it suddenly discovered another means of rendering the Church organization harmless, a means already used in Russian history. Somewhere or other, in the secret recesses of the party, there ripened

at this time—that is, in the spring of 1922—a plan for gaining possession of the very mechanism of the Church administration by abolishing the Patriarchate and re-establishing the Synodal system with a State apparatus of control in the form of a board presided over by a Procurator; but obviously it was somewhat awkward for Communists to start reforming the Church administration when they had so often declared that the Church was no concern of theirs, and should be ignored by all sensible Communists, just as witchcraft, fortune-telling, devil-worship, and all such superstitious practices should likewise be ignored. They therefore needed men of straw to "reform" the Church administration in the name of the Church, and, ostensibly, for the good of the Church and of Christianity in general. These men of straw were soon found floating about on the surface of the revolutionary stream. First there was the so-called Initiative Group of priests. While resident in Moscow during the spring of 1923, I once took occasion to ask a very well-informed Russian about this "Initiative Group," and he gave me the following somewhat enigmatic answer: "If a man voluntarily renders a service to the secret police, he may be quite certain that, by the threat of punishment for treachery, he will be forced, whether he likes it or not, to render other services. In May, 1922, the members of the circle which styled itself 'the Initiative Group' were all of them precisely in this position."

The most notable figure among them was, and is, Bishop Antonin, a man of indisputable intelligence, of considerable theological erudition, but of heterodox views, little standing, unbalanced judgment, and imperfect general education. Consciously or unconsciously, this prelate has been, since the beginning of 1922, a mere tool in the hands of the Bolsheviks. A medical man would say that there was some pathological fault in him, and he would say so with all the greater conviction if he discovered the fact that Antonin has twice undergone treatment in a home for mild mental cases.

Antonin was the son of a *diachok* or lay Psalm-reader in a church, was born in Poltava Province about sixty-three years ago, and was educated first in the Poltava Seminary, and afterwards in the Ecclesiastical Seminary at Kiev.

He is a good preacher, a good linguist, an authority on the old Syriac dialects, and an author, his best-known book being a commentary on the Prophet Isaiah; but he was always noted for his eccentricity, and always unpopular among those he worked with. While superintendent of the Sophia School in Kiev, he employed a tame bear as door-keeper; and at the seminaries where he taught, he had frequent conflicts with the seminarists, who accused him of keeping spies among them. He taught in three seminaries —at Kholm, Tula, and Blagoveshchensk—but was not a success in any of them. Then he got an appointment in the Censure Committee, and in 1905 was made Bishop of Narva, in the Petrograd diocese, by Anthony, the late Metropolitan of Petrograd, with whom he was a favourite. This position he lost, however, in 1906, owing to his having allowed himself to be carried away by the revolutionary frenzy which swept over Russia in that and the previous year. Convinced that the autocracy had come to an end, he had refused to pray for the Tzar as "the autocrat of Russia," whereupon he was sent "for a rest" to the Voskresensky Monastery, near Petrograd. He did not stay there long, however, but soon went to Petrograd, where he was allowed by the Metropolitan Anthony to live in the Alexander-Nevsky Lavra on a pension of 1,500 roubles a year. During his stay in this monastery he spent his time writing libellous pamphlets on Bishops and members of the Synod, and giving even greater scandal to the faithful by walking on foot in the streets of Petrograd, for Russian Bishops are always supposed to go about in carriages. The only ecclesiastical work to which he devoted himself at St. Alexander-Nevsky's was the reorganization of the choir in the monastic Church of the Holy Spirit,where, having a good bass voice, he participated in the singing. In 1917, when M. Vladimir Lvov was appointed by the Provisional Government Chief Procurator of the Synod, he nominated Antonin to be Bishop of Vladikavkas in the Caucasus; but, owing to bad health, Antonin never actually administered this diocese, and remained living in retirement at Moscow. One of the first things Tikhon did on being elected Patriarch was to send Antonin "for a rest" to Petrograd, but the exile soon returned to Moscow, filled

for some reason or other with an unquenchable hatred against the Patriarch.

In 1920 and 1921, when the Soviet Government became enthusiastic about organized public discussions directed against religion, Bishop Antonin stood up successfully against Lunacharsky, the Commissar for Education, and on this account he became popular with the Orthodox in Moscow. He was greatly in demand at this time for ceremonial services, and was well provided for; but his rudeness and lack of balance repelled nearly all his friends, with the result that May, 1922, found him forgotten by everyone except by his creditors and some of the Bolshevik leaders. Curiously enough, his public debates with Lunacharsky brought him into friendly contact, not only with that polished sceptic and somewhat erotic writer, but also with Kalinin and other members of the Government, and thus paved the way for his subsequent breach with the Church.

When the question of confiscating Church property arose, he wrote in the press against the Patriarch, and was at once invited by Kalinin to serve on the Central Committee for Famine Relief. At the trial of the " fifty-four " he came forward as a witness for the prosecution, and testified as an expert in canon law that the Patriarch's edict of March 2, 1922, on the wrongfulness of confiscating the Eucharistic vessels had no religious authority, and was not justified either by ecclesiastical law or by the traditions of the Church. Hence it followed, according to Antonin, that the Patriarch's edict was of a political and counter-revolutionary character. Reference to this expert opinion occurs in the summing-up which led to the death sentences pronounced on the priests (see text of sentence in *Pravda*, May 9, 1922, No. 101).

Even after he became a leader of the new Church, Antonin quarrelled perpetually with the other " reformers," causing great scandal among the Orthodox and great amusement among the Communists by conducting these disputes, which were generally about the most trifling minutiæ of ecclesiastical discipline, in the columns of the Bolshevik newspapers. In November, 1922, for example, he published in the *Izvestia* a long and wearisome rigmarole about a quarrel he had at that time with another " reformer," Father Krasnitzky, who

had (1) refused to give him the seal of the Higher Church Administration, and (2) insisted on recognizing a Bishop Cornelius, although that ecclesiastic had thrown away his monastic habit, thus (in Antonin's opinion, but not in Krasnitzky's) depriving himself, *ipso facto*, not only of his episcopal character, but even of his sacerdotal character. " The friction between us," continued Antonin, " went so far that Krasnitzky tried to find a doctor who would certify me as insane, so that he could expel me from the High Church Administration."

This letter goes on to describe, for the edification of the Bolsheviks, a furious dispute that had sprung up between two of the " reformed " Churches—" the Living Church " and " the Church of the Regeneration "—and it wound up with an onslaught on the Patriarch. " Friends of Tikhon," wrote Antonin, " advised me to ask for his blessing on my reforms, but I considered that it would be as impossible for me to ask for Tikhon's blessing as it would have been for Christ to ask for the blessing of Caiaphas, the High Priest."

Father Vladimir Krasnitzky was the son of a Consistory official in Ekaterinoslav. He studied in the seminary of his native town, then in the Petrograd Ecclesiastical Academy, and, after he left the academy, he was appointed lay Psalm-reader in St. Vladimir's Cathedral, Petrograd. After having married the daughter of a priest in that cathedral, he was ordained deacon, and, when his father-in-law died, was appointed a junior priest in St. Vladimir's. In 1911 he began to intrigue against Bogoiavlensky, a younger priest, who had been promoted chief priest over his head, with the result that he lost his post; but in 1912 he became Archdeacon of the Petrograd district. About the same time he joined the Theosophical Society, for, before the revolution, theosophy and spiritualism were extremely widespread among the Russian aristocracy and even among the clergy. The Grand Duchesses Anastasia and Militza of Montenegro had discovered at Lyons a butcher called Philippe, formerly a shepherd, who was reputed to be a medium of extraordinary power, and had introduced him to the Court of Nicholas II, where his turning-tables regulated the affairs of State, the military operations of the Russo-Japanese War, and the

promotion of officers. Even divorces, then very common in Russia, and still more common now both among the Bolsheviks and among the *émigrés*, were often decreed by the spirits whom Philippe consulted; and all this demoralization, culminating as it did in Rasputin, had a great deal to do with the subsequent collapse, not only of the monarchy, but of the upper classes.

In politics Krasnitzky was at this time an extreme reactionary. In 1905 he became a member of the Black Hundred, a Jew-baiting association which called itself " the Union of the Russian People," and he even rose to be assistant chairman of the Petrograd branch. In 1918, when his rival Bogoiavlensky was appointed Dean of St. Isaac's Cathedral, Krasnitzky began a campaign against the Metropolitan Benjamin and Patriarch Tikhon, and that campaign finally led to his blossoming out as a " reformer " of the Church.

Kalinovsky was also a member of the Black Hundred, and was ordained through the influence of Rasputin. He went as a chaplain to the front, or, rather, to the rear, for it was noticed that he always kept at a respectful distance from the firing line; but, after the revolution, he preached the gospel of Karl Marx to the men, and was elected by them as delegate to the Petrograd Soviet. He was excommunicated by the Metropolitan Benjamin. Like Bishop Leonidas, he had been an officer in the army, and only entered the Church in 1914, after the outbreak of the Great War; his enemies say that his only reason for doing so was to escape the fighting. For quite a long time—long before he became known as a " reformer "—the faithful in Moscow connected his name with the abominable institution on the Lubyanka, which was once known as the Cheka, and is now known as the G.P.U. (State Political Department), and people were advised not to express their opinions too freely in his presence.

At the trial of the " fifty-four " we find him among the expert witnesses for the prosecution, and side by side with Bishop Antonin. These two were joined by the two Petrograd priests—Vvedensky and Krasnitzky—who, for some unknown reason, left their parishes and appeared in Moscow.

In Petrograd, under the old *régime*, Vvedensky had been a fashionable preacher; young, eloquent, idolized by women, he numbered among his congregation Grand Dukes and Duchesses, members of the nobility, and more especially great ladies of the Court, anxious for excitement, even for religious excitement. Over some women, Vvedensky exercised an unhealthy, Rasputin-like influence; but few sensible women of the aristocracy or of the people were ever much attracted by his ornate periods, and when he committed the unpardonable crime of misinterpreting the ecclesiastical law in order to enable the Bolsheviks to pass death sentences on eleven priests, these women developed such a dislike for him that in the early part of 1922 one of them, a woman of the people, signified her disapproval, in a very un-Christian manner, by hitting him on the head with a stone as he was leaving church, inflicting a slight wound. But Vvedensky turned even this unpleasant incident to account by dramatically wearing a bandage on his head for some time after, with the air of a soldier wearing a decoration on his chest. He is said to have some Jewish blood in his veins and to have married after he left the old Orthodox Church, though Russian secular (or White) priests were not permitted to marry after ordination.

Before the revolution Vvedensky was a member of the Black Hundred organization; after the revolution he went to the opposite extreme—not very quickly, indeed, for his first innovations took the comparatively harmless form of placing the altar in the middle of his church, closing the part of the church where the altar always stands, and introducing new prayers and hymns into the service. Finally he went further, with the result that his Metropolitan excommunicated him. Among the other "reformers" are Kuznetzov, a lay teacher of canon law; Titlinov, a lay teacher of history in the Petrograd Ecclesiastical Academy; and Father Bogoluibsky, a Professor of Theology in the University of Moscow.

All the evidence in my possession goes to show that the leading figures in the new Church are neither saints nor even gentlemen, but, on the other hand, the White Russians are wrong in saying that every one of them is a traitor and a time-server. Even the worst of them have in their composi-

tion some elements of the genuine reformer. In 1906 Bishop Antonin was, as we have seen, noted for his liberal views. Bishop Evdokim of Nizhni-Novgorod is also probably a genuine reformer. He once lived in New York as the rector of a Russian Church there, and had apparently become sincerely convinced of the absolute necessity of a reformation in Russia. Vvedensky, Krasnitzky, and Kalinovsky have not such good records, but I am quite prepared to believe that other leaders of the new Church besides Antonin are animated by a praiseworthy desire for reform, as well as by other quite unspiritual and very unworthy motives. Most of them have declared over and over again that, in giving way to the Bolsheviks as they are doing, their sole object is to keep the Church organization in existence; and this argument carries great weight with the generality of the clergy.

The first mention of the new Church is to be found in the Bolshevik newspapers, which stated, during "the trial of the fifty-four," that there had arisen a new progressive Church community with Bishop Antonin at its head; that this Church had split off from that ruled over by the Patriarch; that the civil power had placed at the disposal of Bishop Antonin the whole Zaikonospassky Monastery; and that the new community had been allowed to do what the old community is not allowed to do—issue a religious newspaper. This organ, which still appears, is called *The Living Church.* Up to that time no divergence had been observed between the views of Bishop Antonin and those of the Orthodox Church. Antonin permitted himself nothing more than a few departures from the accepted order of Church Service, so that his reasons for breaking off from the old Church and his claim to be a reformer are very hard to explain.

On May 6, 1922, two days after he had been made to appear in court, the Patriarch, who had for two years been under house arrest, but had had for a time reasonable liberty for communicating with his flock, was subjected to close confinement in his house and isolated, in fact, from all. Still another domiciliary search had been made in his apartments and office, and all the monks who said Mass in the Patriarch's private chapel and lived under the same roof as the Patriarch,

as well as all the servants, were sent to prison. Tikhon's rooms were occupied by a guard and by agents of the political detective service, and an ambush was arranged in them. Everybody who appeared and who was ignorant of what had happened to the Patriarch was allowed to enter the reception-room, but was then detained and searched. Those who had any documents on their person were sent to the prison of the Cheka (Extraordinary Commission or G.P.U.) on the Lubyanka; the others were detained several hours under arrest and then released.

In the Patriarch's Palace were the offices of the Supreme Church Administration and those of the Moscow Diocesan Administration, and, as the palace was occupied by troops, both these offices ceased to function. At the same time the soldiers arrested the Bishop of Zvenigorod, who had been entrusted by the Patriarch with the administration of the Moscow diocese after Archbishop Nikander was sent to prison. What happened was, therefore, this: the Patriarch was arrested. Almost all the members of the Central and Moscow Diocesan Administration were arrested. The offices of the latter administration had been occupied by troops, who prevented the entry of any ecclesiastics. Bishop Nikander, who was in charge of the Moscow diocese, was arrested. As a result of all these arrests, the Supreme Church Administration and the Moscow Diocesan Administration ceased in practice to exist. Bishop Antonin's group therefore decided to occupy, with the help of the civil power, the vacancy thus created, in order to get control of the Church administration; but, as that group were not armed with the necessary canonical powers, they made a determined effort to obtain these powers.

According to the official report of May 12, 1922, the Archpriest Vvedensky, the priests Kalinovsky, Krasnitzky, and Byelkov, and the Preceptor Stradnik, made their way to the Troïtzky Monastery to see the Patriarch, who was under arrest there. The priest Krasnitzky enumerated to His Holiness all the acts which the latter had committed against the Soviet power, and which were, in Krasnitzky's opinion, wrongful acts. "Under the guidance of you, Patriarch Tikhon," cried Krasnitzky, "the Church has fallen into a

condition of complete anarchy. By your counter-revolutionary policy, and particularly by your opposition to the confiscation of the Church valuables, it has lost all authority and all influence over the people. I call upon you to summon immediately a General Assembly of the Church, and to cease completely from administering the Church until that assembly has given its decision."

Such is the Bolshevik story, which adds that " after some reflection the Patriarch signed his resignation, with a transfer of his powers to one of the higher hierarchs until such time as the Church Assembly met." The official statement carefully refrained from giving the name of the higher hierarch to whom Tikhon transferred his powers, and the general impression made by that statement was that the Patriarch admitted the truth of the charges made against him by Father Krasnitzky, and agreed to submit himself to the judgment of the proposed assembly. But, inasmuch as the persons who published this official statement have proved themselves to be very dubious characters, their story is not to be accepted unreservedly, and I shall give the true story fully because, in my opinion, the dethronement of Tikhon is as important an event in Russian ecclesiastical history as the dethronement of the Tzar was in Russian political history.

" For some time," says my informant, " the Patriarch had been under house arrest in his residence. Late on the night of May 12 the group of priests mentioned above called on him and insisted on his getting out of bed. His Holiness came to them in a nervous and disturbed state of mind, but when he saw who were waiting for him he quickly regained possession of himself. The visitors then informed the Patriarch that, as a result of his arrest, the Church would remain without supreme guidance; but that, as the Government would not permit any Bishop proposed by His Holiness to replace him, it would be better if he named, as temporary Acting-Patriarch, Bishop Antonin, in whom the civil power had complete confidence. This the Patriarch definitely refused to do. Then the priests gave him to understand that, should he persist in this decision, all the eleven condemned persons would be executed, whereas, if he obliged the

Government by appointing Antonin as his successor, their pardon was possible."

Some present or future Russian painter will be able, perhaps, to do justice to this scene, and make of it a worthy companion picture of the one—still, also, to be painted—which shows the last of the Romanovs seated in a railway carriage on a siding, signing away his crown. Scene : Night. The Patriarch's modest room in the Cell of the Troïtzky Lavra* in Moscow. On one side the old Patriarch, pious, gentle, simple-minded, unworldly, rather weak. On the other side a group of debauched Communist priests, some of whom had been police-spies, urging the Patriarch to appoint as his successor, with unlimited power over the ancient Church of Russia, a degenerate Bishop who was secretly associated with the Bolshevik leaders, and who suffered so much from neurasthenia that at times he could hardly be regarded as sane.

The discussion lasted all night. Finally, Father Krasnitzky pointed out, what was an undoubted fact, that the Patriarch was a prisoner and unable to exercise freely his functions as head of the Church. Under the circumstances he should, in accordance with the ordinance made by the Supreme Church Administration on November 7, 1920, hand over his power to one of the two substitutes put forward at that time. These were Agafangel, the Metropolitan of Yaroslav, and Benjamin, the Metropolitan of Petrograd. The Patriarch agreed to hand over his powers to one of these two, leaving the selection to the Government. The priests asserted that the Metropolitan Benjamin would never be allowed by the Government to take over the administration of the Church, while, on the other hand, the Metropolitan Agafangel was an ecclesiastic to whom the Government would have no objection. They also assured the Patriarch that the

* The great monastery of the Holy Trinity, generally known as the Troïtzky Lavra, or monastery, is situated at a distance of about forty miles from Moscow, but in Moscow there is a smaller Troïtzky monastery, known as the Cell of the Troïtzky Lavra. This is the town residence of the Metropolitan of Moscow, who is also Abbot of the Troïtzky Lavra, which is ruled by a Prior as deputy. The Patriarch was also living there when his occupancy of the Patriarchate came to an end.

civil power would put no obstacle in the way of a General Church Assembly. The idea of calling such an assembly was welcomed, indeed, by the Patriarch. According to the ordinances of the 1917-18 Council, which re-established the Patriarchate in Russia, assemblies were to be summoned by the Patriarch every three years.

The first ordinary assembly was to be held not later than June, 1921, but it was not held because there was no hope of obtaining, at the time, the Government's assent to its being summoned. When the rebel priests pointed out to the Patriarch how desirable it was that the assembly should be called together and how conveniently this step could be taken just then, Tikhon had no grounds for objecting. As a result of this long conversation, which lasted until broad daylight had come, the Patriarch wrote with his own hand two documents—a letter to Kalinin, President of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee, and a letter to the Metropolitan Agafangel. The text of the former ran as follows:

" In view of the extremely difficult position of the Church administration, which is the result of my having been summoned before a civil court, I consider it in the interests of the Church for me to place temporarily—that is, until the Church Assembly has been summoned—at the head of the Church administration, either Agafangel, Metropolitan of Yaroslav, or Benjamin, Metropolitan of Petrograd.

(*Signed*) " PATRIARCH TIKHON.

" *May* 12, 1922."

In his second letter the Patriarch informed the Metropolitan Agafangel of his appointment as Acting-Patriarch, and begged him to come to Moscow as quickly as possible. Both letters were handed to the priests for delivery.

" Thus the Patriarch resigned neither his office nor his power." This, at least, is what the higher clergy of the Russian Church hold. " The Patriarch continues to remain Patriarch "—thus say the leading hierarchs who still survive—" and the spiritual powers of the Patriarchate reside only in him. But as a result of the physical impossibility of his administering the Church while himself a prisoner,

PATRIARCH TIKHON.

he appointed temporary substitutes, and entrusted the assembly with all further ecclesiastical arrangements. Therefore the newspaper statements as to his resignation are entirely at variance with the facts."

Such is the ecclesiastical view, and probably it is right, for the Red Church Congress, which met in Moscow in May, 1923, considered it necessary to depose the Patriarch. There is some resemblance between this letter of resignation and that in which, also under revolutionary pressure, the unhappy Tzar, Nicholas II, announced his resignation. There is the same pathetic and helpless note in each. One was written in a railway carriage; the other in a cell of what is perhaps the greatest and most magnificent monastery in the world. Would to God that the fate which overtook the writer of the first letter overtakes not the writer of the second!

In the *Pravda* of May 14, 1922, an official notice announced to all Russians that the Supreme Head of their Church had temporarily abdicated; and all the Government newspapers published an appeal "to the faithful sons of the Orthodox Church of Russia," signed by "Bishop Antonin, representative of the progressive clergy of the town of Petrograd." Then came the names of the "progressive priests": A. Vvedensky, V. Krasnitzky, and E. Byelkov of Petrograd; M. Stradnik (a preceptor), S. Kalinovsky, E. Borisov, and V. Bykov of Moscow; and Rusanov and Ledovsky of Saratov.

This document had been drawn up by certain Communist laymen, among them one Spitzberg, and was published with all the above signatures before the signatures had been obtained! The signatures were all obtained afterwards, however, with the exception of three or four, but, save in one case, these three or four were afraid to repudiate their signatures. This exception was Father Bykov. Professor Kuznetzov had been asked to sign and had refused, and his name did not appear in the document. He was summoned to the G.P.U., however, and cautioned.

In this appeal, thus curiously concocted, the "progressive priests" held the very language which had, up to that time, been used about the Church by the Communist Government, and shamelessly repeated the libel against the Patriarch and

his subordinates which had resulted in the passing of eleven death sentences. This is not surprising, of course, in view of the fact, which I have just pointed out, that the Communists themselves had drawn up the document, which the signatories saw for the first time in the newspapers.

" The heads of the Church have taken the side of the people's enemies," wrote these Bolshevik priests, " and the result has been that counter-revolutionary movements are continually breaking out inside the Church. The latest of these unfortunate manifestations occurred when the Church treasures were converted into bread for the hungry. On that occasion, when there should have been a joyful movement of love towards our sinking brethren, there was, instead, alas ! an organized opposition to the State. This opposition led to bloodshed, and that blood was shed by men who wanted to prevent bread being given to Christ when He was an hungered. By refusing aid to the hungry, the heads of the Church tried to bring about the overthrow of the State.* The appeal of the Patriarch Tikhon became the standard around which, clothed in the garments of the Church, the counter-revolutionaries gathered."

The signatories declared in conclusion that they considered necessary the immediate summons of a General Assembly to try those responsible for the destruction of the Church, to decide the question of Church administration, and to establish normal relations between the Church and the Soviet Government, which had signified its assent to the convocation of this assembly. I might add that the Government newspapers gladly opened their columns to this proclamation.

Disgusted by the attacks on the Church contained in this document, friends and parishioners of the signatories demanded an explanation from them. Bishop Antonin declared that he had been compelled to sign by the threat that, if he refused, the eleven condemned priests would be

* This charge runs all through the persecution of Christians in Russia. As will be seen later, the Catholic priests were accused of trying to bring about the overthrow of the State because they dared to preach in church that Karl Marx's views on Christianity were unsound and because they taught the Catechism to children.

shot, whereupon, in order to save their lives, he yielded. Father Ledovsky said the same.

Father Bykov declared that he had refused to sign, but that his name had, nevertheless, been printed among the signatories. A short time after Father Borisov publicly seceded from the " Initiative Group."

On May 23, Fathers Vvedensky and Krasnitzky, accompanied by a Government agent and bringing with them the Patriarch's letter and the text of the above appeal, drove in a Government motor-lorry to the Metropolitan Agafangel at Yaroslav. In the name of the Patriarch, they asked Agafangel to take over the administration of the Church, but they wanted him first to sign an appeal to the faithful promising to let himself be guided in his further actions by the Soviet Government, acting through Fathers Vvedensky and Krasnitzky. Agafangel answered that he wished to preserve his freedom of action, and categorically refused to sign any document which would limit that freedom. He gave the priests only a letter for the Patriarch, wherein he informed the latter that he accepted the charge laid upon him, and would leave for Moscow as early as possible.

But he was unable to do so. Counting on Agafangel's advanced age, and hoping to find in him an obedient tool for the execution of its plans, the Government had somewhat thoughtlessly consented to his appointment as Acting-Patriarch. It thought Agafangel would cover by his ecclesiastical authority all that was done under the dictation of the civil power by Antonin and his associates. But the aged hierarch retained more obstinacy than the Bolsheviks had supposed. The Government then decided not to permit Agafangel to leave Yaroslav. The following night a search was made in his house by the secret police, but no evidence against him was discovered. Nevertheless, Agafangel was compelled to declare in writing that he would not leave Yaroslav. On the second night his rooms in the Tolgsky Monastery were ransacked, but without result. Finally, the very letter of the Patriarch notifying him of his appointment was taken from him.

Having thus spiked Agafangel's guns, and being convinced

that the Patriarch could not be compelled to nominate another and more pliant substitute, the Government agents in clerical cassocks decided to seize control of the Church under the pretext that, if Agafangel did not appear at Moscow, the Church could not remain without a head. To attain this object, it was necessary to get possession of the Archbishop's Palace, in which the supreme ecclesiastical institutions and their chanceries were housed. "Surely," said Krasnitzky, "people from the provinces and from Moscow, who do not know exactly what is happening, will come here to the Archbishop's house by habit, no matter who is in charge here."

It was necessary, first of all, to clear the Patriarch out of the Troïtzky Monastery and transfer him to the Donskoï Monastery; and this was not difficult to accomplish, as, during the night-long discussion at the Troïtzky Monastery on the night of May 12, the Patriarch had agreed, under pressure, to retire to the Donskoï Monastery, but had declared that he would only do so on condition that he would not be kept under arrest there.

During all this time, it must be remembered, the Patriarch was completely isolated and perfectly ignorant of all that was happening; only members of the "Initiative Group" had access to him. Through Father Kalinovsky, the Presbyter of the Great Uspensky Cathedral, N. A. Lyubymov, received from the Patriarch a letter in the Patriarch's own handwriting, and dated May 18. It ran as follows:

"Rev. Father Presbyter,

"In view of the extremely difficult position which has arisen as a result of my having been summoned before the civil court, I consider it useful and for the good of the Church to place at the head of the Church administration, temporarily, till the Church Assembly meets, the Very Rev. Agafangel, Metropolitan of Yaroslav. To this the civil power has agreed, and I have informed the Metropolitan to that effect. I beg you to cause orders to be given that the Metropolitan may be given accommodation, for the time being, in the Donskoï Monastery, and that the clergy of Moscow be so informed.

(*Signed*) "Patriarch Tikhon."

In the margin was a note: "We certify the genuineness of the present document. (*Signed*) Alexander Vvedensky (senior priest), V. Krasnitzky (priest), Kalinovsky (priest)."

Two days later (May 18) a letter of quite a different tenor was handed to Presbyter Lyubymov:

"Respected Presbyter,

"His Holiness the Patriarch has just informed me that he desires to move to the Donskoï Monastery. For this purpose the Archimandrite Anempodist is to be set free so that to-morrow evening His Holiness shall be able to leave for the Donskoï Monastery; therefore he begs you to prepare a room for him there as soon as possible, and to inform him through me not later than noon, May 19. I beg for your prayers.

(*Signed*) "Kalinovsky, Priest."

This unexpected decision of the Patriarch's to move to the Donskoï Monastery was undoubtedly forced on him. Anempodist, mentioned above, is an intimate friend of the Patriarch's. He was taken to prison with the other monks of the Tolgsky Monastery on the day of the Patriarch's arrest. The "progressive priests" had promised the Patriarch that he would be freed and would be allowed to live with Anempodist in the Donskoï Monastery, but the promise was not kept.

On May 19, the Patriarch went in an ordinary carriage, without guards, all through Moscow to the Donskoï Monastery. On the way he stopped at the famous Iversky shrine to pray before the Blessed Ikon of the Virgin Mother, which has been venerated throughout Russia for many centuries, and before leaving the shrine he blessed the assembled people. To one of these people, a personal friend of his, who asked him if he had permanently resigned from the Patriarchate, he declared emphatically that he had not. When he entered the Donskoï Monastery all the entries and exits were closed by Red soldiers. The Patriarch was again cut off from the whole world. Meanwhile the "progressive priests" seized his rooms as soon as he left them. The Bolshevik representatives removed the seals from the archives in the chancery, and then handed over to the "progressive priests"

the whole machinery of the Church administration. Bishop Antonin took possession of the Patriarchal Palace.

Thus the Patriarch Tikhon disappeared from the scene. For the next year he lived under close arrest in the Donskoï Monastery, where he occupied three small rooms, well furnished with old-fashioned furniture, with an exit on to the wall of the monastery, whereon he was allowed to walk. But he was without servants, and nobody was admitted to see him. From time to time during his daily walk he was able to exchange a few words with friends whom he saw below, but from his infrequent and broken words it was clear he was living in complete ignorance of what had happened since his fall from power. Evidently the position of the Church caused him keen anxiety. He often asked, sadly, whether Agafangel or Innocent had yet arrived. He was not permitted to say Mass even in the house chapel, and none of his priests had access to him.

The " progressive priests," as they call themselves, who now occupy the throne of the imprisoned Patriarch, inspire as little confidence as the Bolshevik junta which occupies the throne of the Tzar. Some of them hail from Petrograd and Moscow, some of them come from other towns; but as neither in Moscow nor in any other city were they regarded with much confidence by the laity, they now made an effort to secure the assistance of the best among the clergy of Moscow. Kalinovsky, Vvedensky, and Krasnitzky went round to such of the Bishops as were not in jail, inviting them to join their group and scattering everywhere the most deceptive promises. They appealed to Bishop Ilarion and to V. V. Guriev, Secretary of the Supreme Church Administration, both in prison, promising them immediate release and the quashing of the prosecution pending against them, but they only succeeded in winning over Bishop Leonidas, who is more of a swashbuckler than a Bishop.

Bishop Leonidas, whose name in the world was Leonidas Dmitrievich Skabeiev, is a Georgian by birth, and had been a Colonel in the artillery before he became a priest. Owing, it is said, to Grand Ducal influence, he was ordained before he had finished his course at the ecclesiastical academy and made rector of the Lithuanian Ecclesiastical Seminary in

Vilna. Here, it is said, his language, even in church, smacked more of the camp than of the cloister; but it was not for his "language" that he was dismissed from the seminary; it was for his complete ignorance of theology. Still assisted by the Grand Duke who was his patron, he wandered from monastery to monastery, from the monastery of the Transfiguration in Penza to the monastery of Novgorod-Syeversky, and then to the monastery of Mogilev. After the first revolution he was consecrated Bishop, thanks to the new regulations introduced by the Procurator, Vladimir Lvov, now (September, 1923) Procurator of the new Church, which regulations led to some most unsuitable priests being raised to episcopal rank at that time. Leonidas's first exploit as Bishop was to go to the Caucasus and, together with Bishop Anthony of Gori and Bishop Nicholas, to proclaim the autonomy of the Church of Georgia. For doing so all three were excommunicated by Patriarch Tikhon. As Kalinovsky had also been in the army, the "progressive priests" thus numbered among them at least two old soldiers, both of them noted for the profanity of their language, and both of them probably feeling ill at ease in monks' cassocks. I might add that several of the Black clergy who joined the new Church movement took to themselves wives after doing so, thus breaking their vows of celibacy. Some laymen, like Vladimir Lvov and M. Khlyebnikov, are active in the new Church movement, but this is no departure from the traditions of the Russian Orthodox Church.

To have some shadow of right to administration of the Church the progressive priests needed powers of some kind from the Patriarch, and they finally obtained those powers by fraud. On May 18, a statement signed by Vvedensky, Byelkov, and Kalinovsky was shown to the Patriarch. The signatories, after complaining that Agafangel had not come to Moscow, and that, as a result of the arrest of Nikander and his substitute, the Bishop of Zvenigorod,* the Moscow diocese would remain without a Bishop to administer it, begged the Patriarch to confide to them at least the management of the chancery in the Supreme Church Administration, and to appoint a Bishop to take charge of the Moscow diocese.

* Zvenigorod is about sixty miles from Moscow.

As the chancery was already in their hands, the Patriarch wrote on the statement the following resolution: "The persons named below"—*e.g.*, the signatories to the statement —"are charged to take over and transfer to the Most Rev. Agafangel, on his arrival in Moscow, the archives of the Synod. The secretary, Numerov, is to assist them in carrying out these instructions. They are also authorized to hand over the archives of the Moscow diocese to the Very Rev. Innocent, Bishop of Klin,* and, until Bishop Innocent arrives, they are to place those archives in the charge of the Very Rev. Leonidas, Bishop of Verny.† The head clerk, Nevsky, is to assist them in carrying out these instructions. (*Signed*) PATRIARCH TIKHON (May 18)."

Thereupon the following appeared in the Government papers: "On the basis of an agreement with the Patriarch, Tikhon, the control of the Orthodox Church in Russia has passed, until the creation of an administration, to a temporary Supreme Administration composed of Bishop Antonin, Bishop Leonidas, Archpriest Vvedensky, Archpriest Albinsky, Fathers Byelkov, Voskesensky, Kalinovsky, Krasnitzky, and the deacon S. Sobolev. . . ." On May 17 the newspapers announced that the Patriarch had resigned on May 12; and on May 19 the Patriarch moved into the Donskoï Monastery. On Saturday, May 20, in the Troïtzky Monastery, the above-mentioned group of clergy, with Bishop Antonin at their head, "started on current work connected with the administration of the Church and the summoning of a General Assembly" (*Pravda*, May 21, 1922, No. 112).

No agreement had been made with the usurpers of the Patriarch's powers. They were only charged by the Patriarch to take charge of the chancery till Agafangel's arrival, but not in any way to administer the Church. The resolution of the Patriarch was not published nor shown to anybody, yet it was referred to as a document giving these traitor priests their powers. To keep these powers they detained Agafangel in Yaroslav—or, rather, acting on behalf of Antonin and his colleagues, the secret police of the Soviet Government detained him. In order to keep

* Near Moscow. † In Turkestan.

the administration of the Moscow diocese in the hands of Bishop Leonidas, they never sent to Bishop Innocent advice of the charge entrusted to him by the Patriarch.

Now that it is possible to obtain and read the Patriarch's resolution they justify their seizure of power by the pretext that, as the civil power had refused to let any clergy but themselves take over the Church administration, they had taken over that administration, as, otherwise, the Church would be left without any governing body at all.

The first steps of the new Church Administration were taken with the object of strengthening its own position, as the only Bishop to join the "Initiative Group" since its formation had been Bishop Leonidas. The new administration hastened, therefore, to surround itself by trustworthy tools. It had already consecrated as Bishops, Fathers Chantzev and Albinsky. On the other hand, it had expelled Bishops who were considered to be antipathetic to the Government and to it, the new administration. Archbishop Nikander was thus expelled from the Archiepiscopal See of Moscow, though no ecclesiastical fault was attributed to him. It also expelled Benjamin, the Metropolitan of Petrograd, and it enumerated, in the decree of his inhibition, all the crimes he had committed against the Soviet Government. In the eyes of the new Church Administration, however, Benjamin's one great crime was the fact that he had excommunicated the following Petrograd priests subordinate to him: Vvedensky, Krasnitzky, and Byelkov.

Benjamin next attempted to carry out the decree of the Supreme Church Administration of November 7, 1920, and declared that the Petrograd See, being deprived of the possibility of receiving orders from the Patriarch, would be managed by its Bishops, independently of the new Church power (*Petrograd Pravda*, May 30, 1922).

The immediate result of this bold move on Benjamin's part was his arrest, and the *Izvestia* (May 2) hastened to add the threat that "a Metropolitan should be very careful. In Petrograd the trial of the Church people for resisting the Government is only beginning, and a Metropolitan who has incited his humbler brethren to action has done all that he could to insure that these trials will end with severer

sentences than those which were passed at Moscow. And the central figure in these Petrograd trials will be the Metropolitan himself; he should not have forgotten that."

These Petrograd trials came later, and ended in the sentence of death being passed on this brave Metropolitan, as well as on a number of his priests and of the laity, who all bore themselves in court like confessors and martyrs. Of the confessors—for such, indeed, they were—the greatest, in my opinion, was Madame Brusilova, the young wife of General Brusilov's son. That brave and pious lady was the ringleader in a crowd which resisted the attempts of the Reds to despoil the Kazan Cathedral; and she had been heard to cry out: " The Jews have come to despoil the body of Christ." She did not deny having used those words; on the contrary, she gloried in them; and when sentence was passed on her, she said: " You can take away my life, but you cannot take away the peace that is in my heart, for I received the Sacrament this morning." Her sentence was commuted to penal servitude for life, but she was released about the middle of 1923, and is now (September, 1923) living in great misery in Moscow.

When this Red horror has passed away, Petrograd should raise a great monument " to the women of Russia," for they have been splendid. During the anti-Christian processions that were held in the streets of Moscow last Christmas, the only people who publicly protested were poor Russian women.

The trial of Bishop Benjamin, which did not take place at the same time as the trial of Madame Brusilova, was marked by some painful circumstances, one being the prominent part taken against the prisoner by the Red priest, Vvedensky, who had, after the first revolution, been appointed Benjamin's chaplain, who had accompanied Benjamin in his visits to the churches of the diocese, and whom the Bishop had treated with the greatest kindness. Yet, when Benjamin was tried for his life, no witness supported the charges made against him by the Bolsheviks with more zeal and bitterness than Father Vvedensky, who was, later on (in May, 1923), to show equal bitterness against the Patriarch at the Red Church Assembly, which then met in Moscow with the

object of vilifying and unfrocking the imprisoned head of the Russian Church.

Judged, however, from another point of view, the trials of Bishop Benjamin, Madame Brusilova, and the other Petrograd Christians, were the second flash of light out of the dark cloud of selfishness and materialism which, almost from the moment that the Great War came to an end, had settled down on exhausted Europe. The "trial of the fifty-four" I have already described as the first flash, but it was a flash that was noticed by only a few observers; for the majority of men the clouds were too dark and thick.

Sufficient praise has not been given in this country to Bishop Benjamin for the noble stand he took on this occasion. Perhaps it was because the outside world failed to understand that it was a genuine persecution of the old Nero or Diocletian type that had been begun in Russia. Some English politicians seem to imagine that the Bolsheviks are like themselves—that they talk occasionally to the gallery, make election pledges that they do not intend to keep, threaten when they do not mean to do any more, keep their ear to the ground, put out feelers, fly trial balloons, and go through all the other performances. Such politicians have probably judged all Bolsheviks by Mr. Krassin, who is certainly not a typical Red, and who is so distrusted in Moscow that he recently failed to secure return to the twelfth congress of the Communist Party. The real Bolshevik leader has no more need to make election pledges than Nero had, and he does not threaten at all; he strikes. Even Englishmen who call themselves Bolsheviks do not realize this. In March, 1923, Mr. Newbold, for example, expressed in the House of Commons his complete and utter disbelief in the statement that Mgr. Budkiewicz would be put to death. Mr. Newbold has been in Russia, but he does not know the Bolsheviks.

Few Englishmen knew them, indeed, at the time Bishop Benjamin was sentenced. Most people in this country probably thought that the trial was a *geste*, such a *geste* as Mr. Lloyd George might have made two years ago in the direction of Mr. de Valera. And it must be admitted that though the Soviet Government is brutally frank and direct

in Russia, it is not so willing to let Western Europe see it as it is. Hence the sojourn of Mr. Krassin in London, where he was useful to the Bolsheviks, though in Moscow he is of little account. Hence the fact that, when Bishop Benjamin was executed secretly in Petrograd, the Bolsheviks prevented the news being sent abroad, and still prevent foreign journalists from sending it. In reply to a cablegram from New York, I wired from Moscow in February last that Bishop Benjamin had certainly been executed; but my wire was suppressed by the censor. These doubts about the deadly seriousness of the Bolsheviks and about Bishop Benjamin's death probably accounted for the comparative indifference with which that onslaught on religion was received in England and America. But Bishop Benjamin was a martyr quite as much as Mgr. Budkiewicz was. And, as I have shown, he was not the only martyr of the Orthodox Church who suffered on this occasion.

Another great flash of light came out of the Muscovite darkness when, in March, 1923, Archbishop Cieplak and his clergy told Judge Galkin that they would not cease teaching the Catechism to children; and this provoked such brilliant answering flashes from England and America and many other countries that the long night may now be regarded as on the wane. Of these things, however, I shall speak in their own place.

I should like, however, to say here that, even in May, 1922, when they were shooting and imprisoning priests and were keeping the Patriarch under strict arrest, the Bolsheviks had already discovered the formula, "There has been no attack on the Church," a formula which, with slight variations, has been regularly repeated by them ever since, which was unctuously enunciated by Litvinov when Mgr. Budkiewicz was murdered; which later (in May, 1923) was repeated many times a day by Mr. Krassin to newspaper interviewers and to members of the British Labour Party; and which was accepted with childlike confidence by many of those members.

Eight months ago I asked a prominent and impartial authority in Moscow what he thought of this impudent assertion.

" This statement," he replied, " is not in accordance with facts. The Soviet Government has from the outset pursued a definitely anti-clerical policy, and has never lost an opportunity of holding religion up to ridicule. The latest legislation on the subject of religion is particularly illuminating as showing its attitude in this connection. Clause 121 of the new Criminal Code runs as follows: ' The teaching of religious beliefs in State or private educational establishments and schools to children of tender age and to minors is punishable by forced labour for a period not exceeding one year.' "

As will be seen by the report I give later of the Cieplak trial, the Bolsheviks hold that even one or two children being taught their Catechism constitute a school within the meaning of this clause.

CHAPTER IV

PREPARING THE WAY FOR THE RED CHURCH CONGRESS

THE trial of Archbishop Benjamin and other Petrograd Christians showed that the heads of the "reformed" Church were not shy of using the worst police methods of the G.P.U. in order to secure recognition of their power; and it must be confessed that, terrified by the arrests, trials, and executions which took place, the clergy did not dare to act openly against the "reformers."

The clergy had fallen, indeed, into a state of disintegration, caused by Bolshevism, but made possible by Byzantinism and Tzarism. The average pope had as little spirituality as the average shoemaker. He had worked with the peasants in the fields, drunk with them in the *traktir;* and, since the revolution, he has, in many cases, discarded his ecclesiastical character and become entirely a *muzhik.* In Archangel there are six Bishops working ten hours a day each as cab-drivers. Many bishoprics have been created without reference to the Patriarch; and, in at least one case, the new Bishop, who had been a clergyman of very advanced views, was "consecrated" by simple priests and laymen, and is now busily ordaining priests. Many of these new Bishops are quarrelling with one another and attacking the Patriarch. As for the old Bishops, far from being able to help Tikhon, they cannot keep their own priests in order because they themselves are of that weak and pliable type invariably selected for ecclesiastical advancement by the Imperial Government. This diminution of episcopal authority constitutes an advance towards Presbyterianism; but there is also a movement towards Catholicism and towards something resembling Buddhism. In Bogdanovka parish, Kharkov province, Father Emilianov,

the priest in charge, went over to Rome in 1918, bringing his whole flock of 8,000 souls with him ; and in one town on the Don a young priest is worshipped as an incarnation of Jesus Christ.

On June 8, 1922, all the Archdeacons or Deans* of Moscow, to the number of twenty-two, were summoned to the Supreme Church Administration, and asked whether they recognized the reformed Church or not. On reaching the Supreme Church Administration, they were somewhat alarmed to see standing outside the gate a very large motor-car, large enough to carry all the twenty-two off to jail. Then the twenty-two went into the chancery of the Supreme Church Administration, where they were surprised and alarmed to find that the members of that ecclesiastical body were accompanied by a number of young laymen in leathern jackets and with revolvers strapped to their belts. It was not difficult for them, of course, to recognize, in these braves, the agents of the political police. All the twenty-two were then accused of taking part in the meeting called by Archbishop Nikander—a meeting of which I have already spoken. The position was clear—either recognize the "reformed" Church or go to jail in the big motor-car which could be heard puffing and snorting outside: the chauffeur, tired of waiting, having evidently started up his engine. The twenty-two Archdeacons wavered from 7 p.m. till 2 a.m., and finally arrived at an involved but nevertheless affirmative decision. They saved themselves that journey in the big motor-car by practically recognizing the "reformed" Church.

Meanwhile the faithful were very hostile to the new ecclesiastics who had taken the Patriarch's place, and this hostility found expression at the public discussions by means of which the "Initiative Group" endeavoured to propagate the new Church policy. Three of these meetings took place in the hall of the Conservatoire, which holds 3,000 people. The discussions were accompanied by continual outbursts against the "reformers," who were called "traitors," "Jews," "murderers," and asked, "How much are you being paid by the secret police?" On May 29 took place the consecration as Bishop of Father

* The heads of those units which form a diocese.

Albinsky. The ceremony was performed by Bishops Antonin, Leonidas, and Ioannika, but from early morning thousands of people blocked the entry to the cathedral, so that neither the Bishops nor the candidates (who had been warned beforehand of what was awaiting them) dared to appear in the cathedral, and the laying-on of hands had to take place in the small chapel in the Patriarch's Palace. Bishops Antonin and Leonidas were overwhelmed with insults on leaving the church after the service.

The programme of the "Initiative Group" was clearly set forth a year ago in *The Living Church*, that group's organ in the press, and also in its original appeal, which has already been published. Its first task was to call the *Sobor* or Church Congress; and this task has now been discharged, for the *Sobor* met in May, 1923. In the elections to this congress, the new Church administration, backed by the G.P.U. and by other departments of the Soviet Government, indulged in enough jerrymandering, violence, deceit, and corruption to make the most corrupt political "boss" in America blush with shame. All Bishops hostile to the new Church were arrested on various pretexts, or obliged to sign an undertaking not to leave their dioceses; therefore, they were unable to attend the congress. The Bolshevik Government, which has control of the railways, did not allow unfriendly prelates to travel.

In a small country like England this domination of the railroads by the Government would not mean much, but in a vast country like Russia, where the roads, formerly bad, are now very bad, the power which holds the railways can prevent unfriendly travellers from ever arriving at Moscow. Only those prelates who signed all demanded of them by the "reformers" were allowed to travel, and the same policy was pursued towards the elected representatives of the clergy and laity who were not in favour of the "Living Church" group. In short, there were put into operation the familiar devices whereby, despite the generally anti-Bolshevik feeling of the Russian people, a great majority of the Government candidates are, nevertheless, returned unanimously to the All-Russian Soviet at every election.

The first task of the congress was to judge and depose the Patriarch for his anti-Government actions.

The civil power intends to try the Patriarch afterwards; but, if it does so, it will attempt to show it is trying him, not as the head of the Orthodox Church, but as a political criminal who endeavoured to cause a popular rising against the Soviet power. It was a matter of public knowledge a year ago that the civil power would not prosecute until the Patriarch had been dethroned and unfrocked, but even before this was done—as far back, indeed, as May, 1922—the Soviet newspapers always called the Patriarch Bellavin, his original name in the world, not by his ecclesiastical name and title, Patriarch Tikhon.

It was considered necessary first to detach the Church from the Patriarch; and the "reformers" had decided long ago that they must convince the Church Congress that the Patriarch was guided by political and not by religious motives. To condemn the eleven priests to death at the trial of the fifty-four, in May, 1922, it was necessary, as we have seen, for the Soviet Government to obtain the adverse expert opinion of Bishop Antonin, and, in order to condemn the Patriarch, it needed the adverse expert decision of the congress, which decision it has now got.

This unfortunate country, torn to pieces, has its only symbol of unity in the Patriarch. In him is the national centre towards which all Russian Orthodoxy tends. This is no secret to the Soviet Government. The intense fear of the future which, as I have already pointed out, haunts this Government night and day, and the fear that, with time, there will gather round the Patriarch all the religious and national forces of the country—these two fears have induced the Soviet Government to aim at the destruction of the Patriarchate. It understood all the convenience for its own purposes of the Synodal system, and wished to follow in the steps of Peter the Great, who first invented that system in order to bring the Russian Church into complete subjection to the Tzars. This was task Number Two.

"The congress, after having condemned the Patriarch, unfrocked him, given him back his name in the world, and driven him forth from the sanctuary in order that he

might be seized by the Bolshevik police and tried for his life as a political criminal, will then declare that the monarchical principle has had its day for the Church as for the State. In other words, they will do away with the recently established Patriarchate, decapitate the Church, and replace the Patriarch by a Synod—that is, by an impersonal and arbitrarily composed Soviet of Bishops, priests, and laymen—lackeys of the Soviet Government, which is already waxing enthusiastic over the advantages of the Synodal system—as if 'Comrades' Bronstein, Moses Valach, Apfelbaum and Co., cared for any system of Church government!"

I wrote these words in the *New York Herald* of December 3, 1922, and I reproduce them now without alteration, because what I said then has, unfortunately, come true. Before dealing, however, with the Red *Sobor* or Congress which met in Moscow in May, 1923, I must describe the steps which led up to that strange assembly.

In the official press organ of the new Church administration we find inscribed in large characters the following statement:

"We wish to do away with all possibility of the Patriarchate existing any longer. The Patriarchate is an institution of recent growth, foreign to ancient Church history, and deeply impregnated with the monarchical principle. We propose to create a collegiate body, or small assembly, responsive to the newly-born spirit of union; and this collegiate body will be more successful than the Patriarchate, with its individual character, in bringing to life that which the Patriarchate is supposed to bring."

This rigmarole is not very carefully worded, but the general meaning is clear. "Let us not, however," the programme continues, "decide this question prematurely. We can conceive a Patriarchate under which it will be possible for the Church to avoid the unfortunate errors which have brought us to the Second Congress" (*Living Church*, No. 2, p. 3).

That is to say, the Synod is best of all, but it might, nevertheless, be possible to have a Patriarch on conditions which would make him not only harmless, but even perhaps useful to Communists.

The third clause of the Congress programme touches on the relations between the new Church and the State. "The separation of Church and State must be recognized by the Church, distinctly, unalterably, once and for all." But this separation is conceived in the somewhat original form of a complete subordination of the Church to the civil power.

Patriarch Tikhon dwelt on that very point when I saw him in April, 1920. "The State has separated itself from the Church," he said to me, "and I think it has acted wisely; but it should therefore refrain from continually meddling, as it does, in ecclesiastical affairs." The unfortunate prelate did not, I think, imagine, when he spoke to me thus, that the State would, in two years' time, meddle in Church affairs to the extent that it has now done, and that he himself would be the first to suffer from this meddling.

Most of my readers are by this time aware of the political position in Russia. The Communists who rule Russia place at the head of all institutions (filled, naturally, with secret enemies of Bolshevism) so-called "Communist Cells" of two or three men to observe, inform on, and terrify the employees of those institutions. For the Soviet Government still rules by terror; and, supported as it is by only 200,000 people in a country of some 120,000,000, it must continue to rule by terror. In all its tribunals it deals out, not justice, but terror. "The trial of the fifty-four" was an act of terrorism. The trial of Bishop Benjamin was an act of terrorism. The trial of Archbishop Cieplak and his clergy was, as will be seen, an act of terrorism. Even in the case of ordinary, non-political charges, terrorism is the weapon employed, not justice. Shortly before the Cieplak trial, several employees of Government trusts were tried for corrupt commercial practices, which, by the way, are now rampant in Russia, owing to the Government doing business itself, and not leaving it to private initiative and competition. The Red Judge who was trying the case said frankly, "There is too much of this sort of thing going on; I must make an example"; and he did make an example—by condemning two of the prisoners to death on quite insufficient evidence, and after having refused to hear any wit-

nesses for the defence. About two months earlier, a man accused of forging Government paper money was condemned to death and shot; and, about a year ago, a station-master who overcharged a foreign journalist for his railway ticket was condemned to ten years' penal servitude. I could multiply instances of this kind, but I must confine myself to the matter in hand.

Bishop Antonin and his colleagues have formed at the present moment, in the very brain of the Orthodox ecclesiastical system, a Communist cell of the kind I have just described. Fully a year ago, a certain number of Orthodox priests and laymen applied to the All-Russian Central Executive Committee for permission to form themselves into such a cell; but it is significant that they have so far concealed their names. Let me quote, however, from their somewhat vague and long-winded application:

"Being desirous in the measure of our understanding and force to aid the Soviet Government in the matter of the national religion," they propose "to form, in connection with the Central Executive Committee, a special All-Russian Committee for dealing with matters affecting the Orthodox Church. An Orthodox Bishop, fully authorized to deal with ecclesiastical affairs, should be at the head of this committee."

The proposed committee is charged with several duties. The first and most important is "to select from the whole mass of the Orthodox clergy and laity those persons who recognize the justice of the Russian revolution and are loyal to the Soviet power, and to prevent any ecclesiastical proceedings being taken against them or any disciplinary punishment being inflicted on them by the Patriarchal administration."

This paragraph is printed in heavy type. It is evidently the centre of gravity.

The committee's second duty is "the observation and investigation of the actions of the Patriarchal Church administration." But the duties of the committee are not confined to this. It also undertakes to compel the Church to assist the Government in the execution of its Communistic schemes. Its task is—

"To assist in the peaceful and lawful execution of State measures which do not interfere with the religious feelings of the Orthodox. Special local institutions with functions of the same kind are to be created in all the Provinces. The central organ of this All-Russian Church Committee would have its authorized representatives attached to the Government Executive Committee in each Province, and these representatives would all be persons in Holy Orders. The members of the Church committee in each Province would be selected from among the Orthodox clergy and laymen by the Soviet Executive Committees of the Provinces. Representatives of the Church committee in the Provinces and the committees attached to them would fulfil, in the different Provinces, and in the manner indicated above, the orders of the All-Russian Executive Committee, and also the proper standing orders of the local Government Executive Committees. They would also appoint, as occasion might require, their own representatives in *volosts* and villages" (*Living Church*, No. 1, p. 10).

Such are the objects which the reformers proposed that the Congress should force on the Church.

The last important point in the programme drawn up a year ago for the Red Church Congress which met in Moscow early in May, 1923, is the formal blessing of Communism. This economic doctrine was apparently desirous to receive religious sanction, and has now received it.

"The Church," write the reformers, "cannot remain indifferent to the spectacle of the struggle now going on against social economic untruth, against social economic inequality, against the existence of capitalism in the Christian world. It must condemn from the religious and moral point of view the principle of inequality in the social-economic world, must condemn it finally and unalterably" (*Living Church*, No. 2, pp. 4 and 5).

In all the Government press organs there arose, as soon as the Patriarch was safely under lock and key in the Donskoï Monastery, a cry about the new-born religious movement, the new religious conscience, and the dissensions within the Church. "In fact," says a high Orthodox ecclesiastic, "there exists no religious movement. In order

to create a wide religious movement, there must be sincere feeling and self-sacrifice. How can a worthless band, acting with violence and filled with deceit, talk of sincerity ? This gang is strong only in the support of the civil power."

Meanwhile, however, an unexpected and disquieting series of movements began to take place within the " Living Church." That Church, like the Reformed Churches of the West, began splitting into innumerable fragments, and almost every one of the " reformers " founded a sect of his own. The result was that a variety of new bodies appeared —the " Union of Apostolic Churches," the " Revival Church," the " Union of Religious Communal Societies," the " Free Labour Church," and several others—whose doctrines are a fantastic medley of timid modifications of ritual with fragments of Communist teaching. Throughout the country the priests remained, in practice, members of the old Orthodox Church, but in theory they have, in very many cases, joined the new Church, though they do not know exactly what it is.

About the middle of the year 1922, Bishop Antonin seceded from the " Living Church " for a time, and formed another sect which he called by the awkward name of " Church Regeneration." He was supported by N. Bogoluibsky, Professor of Theology in the Theological Academy, and these two formed a new group which declared its desire for a return to " the democratic state of original Christianity " and for a simpler ritual; but as all the new groups want to return to " the democratic state of original Christianity " (though they are exceedingly vague on the subject of what that " democratic state " really was), and want a simpler ritual, it is not very clear why Antonin seceded. He wants married priests to be admitted to the episcopate, but all the other new groups want that too. He acknowledges the Soviet Government, but so do all the new groups. The " Church Regeneration " has, however, been absorbed again by the " Living Church," which needs Antonin at present to consecrate Bishops, but which may drop him when he has helped to make a sufficient number.*

* It did drop him. Antonin was deposed about the middle of 1923, and is now living again in retirement.

In December, 1922, I heard Father Vvedensky give a popular lecture on religion at the Zimin Theatre. He gave it under the auspices of the Red Labour Unions, the most Bolshevik organization in all Bolshevy, the one in whose hall the Cieplak trial and all the other religious trials held in the Moscow district were staged. The theatre was packed with a serious and attentive audience, many members of which were priests, students, and workmen; and one box was occupied by officials of the G.P.U., who seemed to be greatly amused, whether by the very theatrical manner of this popular preacher or by the doctrines which he preached, I cannot say. Father Vvedensky blessed the Soviet Government; dragged in quotations from Nietzsche, George Bernard Shaw, and Jack London; and confessed, incidentally, that he was not a member of the " Living Church," but of another which he had founded himself, and to which, apparently, no one but himself belonged.

The other members of the Supreme Church Administration were going off at other tangents; but the necessity of their all keeping together in the Government Board which controls Church affairs from the Patriarch's Palace has imposed a curious sort of union upon these heterogeneous schismatics; and apparently the Bolsheviks, who take no pains to conceal their utter contempt for all these new " Churches," obliged the leaders of these Churches to meet for the transaction of routine work and to co-operate in making ecclesiastical appointments, and especially in making arrangements for the convocation of the Red Church Congress. At the head of this Government Board is Bishop Antonin, whose views on Church reform are different from those of every member of the Board. The only principles, indeed, which unite these renegade ecclesiastics are intense hatred of the Patriarch and complete submission to, and constant support of, the atheist oligarchy which rules Russia in its campaign against loyal Churchmen. No such unedifying sight has been seen in Christendom since the days when the Grand Turk sold the rank of Patriarch of Constantinople to the highest bidder and looked on, amused and contemptuous, while the heads of cliques in the Phanar engaged in vociferous vituperation of one another.

The Red *Sobor* of May, 1923, was not, however, the first congress held by the new Church. The initial congress was held in Moscow in 1922, and was attended by 190 carefully selected delegates from various districts of Russia. This congress passed a number of resolutions which clearly revealed the nature of the "reform" which it was proposed to effect. These resolutions, which were afterwards put before the Red Congress, were mainly directed towards removing the barrier which exists between the "Black" and the "White" clergy; the former are celibate monks from among whom the Bishops are always selected, whereas the latter are married secular priests who are never advanced to the episcopate. Among these resolutions was one to the effect that this distinction between the regulars and the secular clergy should be removed, and this was, of course, carried unanimously, as the members of the congress were largely married clergy who had long been chafing under the existing ecclesiastical regulations.

It was also decided at this initial congress that monasteries and convents in the towns should be closed, though they might be used as places of worship, while those in the country were to be turned into "brotherhoods of workers," infirmaries, or almshouses for aged priests and others. Monks were to be allowed to renounce their vows and still retain their ecclesiastical positions.

These decisions were carried out in numerous districts, and in many parts of Moscow one can see huge monasteries which have now ceased to be religious houses and are inhabited by workmen and their families. As a result of a confirmatory resolution passed by the Red Congress of May, 1923, all the remaining monasteries will be gradually suppressed.

The Congress of 1922 removed the ban on Tolstoi, and passed resolutions appealing to the clergy of all grades to enrol themselves under the banner of the new administration of the Living Church. Many will undoubtedly do so, for the average Russian priest has little spirituality, and knows very well on which side his bread is buttered. According to a coarse and popular proverb, all that is needed in a priest is "a big beard, a big voice, and a big stomach";

and though this is, of course, an exaggeration, there being many ascetic and spiritual-minded priests, it is undoubtedly a fact that the clergy in Russia did not, as a rule, inspire much reverence. They drank too much, were indecently anxious to get payment for their spiritual ministrations, were as singularly lacking in dignity and self-respect as the average *padre* in a Mexican village, were not admitted into cultured society any more than country Anglican clergymen were admitted into the society of the landed gentry in the time of Queen Anne, and confined themselves to a mechanical performance of their duties. I could tell many amusing but unedifying anecdotes about Russian priests and Bishops, but the present is not the time to do so, and I would not refer to this matter at all if it were not absolutely necessary as a preliminary to what I am now going to say—namely, that a clergy of this type will yield many recruits to the new Church. Time alone will show to what extent the mass of the people will assimilate the reforms of the new party. Undoubtedly a good many of the priests and laity will remain firm, so that Russian Christians will be divided into three parts—the Reformed Russian Church, the Orthodox Russian Church, and the Old Believers. The first will have, I think, in a year or so, far more members than the other two combined; it will really be the Established Church of Russia. In fact, it is really the Established Church of Russia now.

I shall, later on, devote a special chapter to the new Church and the old, but a few preliminary observations on the same subject may not be out of place.

To begin with, I must admit, though myself a conservative in religious matters, that a reform in the Russian Church was long overdue, and that, if such a reform had been effected long ago, there would be no necessity for one at the present critical juncture, when reform is certain to be utilized by the virulently anti-Christian rulers of Russia for the destruction of Christianity.

Moreover, the changes that have now been made are not the changes that were most needed. What was needed was the better education of the clergy; the raising of their whole status; the simplification of the Catechisms and other popular

religious books, which are inexpressibly long-winded, involved, and tiresome; the weeding of lazy and incompetent monks out of monasteries; the greater utilization of monasteries for educational and philanthropic work; and the removal of corrupt and simoniacal abbots and Bishops. One Bishop of whom I have heard was entirely in the hands of a favourite, a lay chorister, whose advice in ecclesiastical matters he always followed, and who accepted bribes not only from priests, but also from laymen.

But simony is now more prevalent than ever. The clergy are in a more degraded position than before. Their educational facilities are less, for all the seminaries have been closed, all the diocesan printing presses have been confiscated, all the ecclesiastical libraries have been seized, and no books on religious subjects are allowed to appear. The ablest, most independent, and most pious Churchmen have been killed, imprisoned, or driven into exile.

Advocates of the new Church—and it has its advocates even among the anti-Bolshevik Russians abroad—have told me that, at all events, sermons are now preached in modern Russian instead of in Old Slavonic, and that the Mass is also said in modern Russian, while, thanks to the new Church, the Bible and Prayer-Books are now accessible in a language which the common people can understand.

But, even before the " reformation," preachers spoke in modern Russian when they spoke at all, which was seldom, for there was very little preaching done in the Orthodox churches; and the Bible, as well as all the Prayer-Books, were to be had in modern Russian. As a matter of fact, most of these anti-Bolshevik intellectuals who think that the new Church has carried out many genuine reforms are Russians who, before the revolution, never went to church. It is true that the old Church insisted on the " Our Father " and most of the usual prayers being taught in Old Slavonic, and on school children spending too much time on the study of that language, which is as far removed from modern Russian as the language of Chaucer is from modern English. But the substitution of modern Russian for Old Slavonic in the Mass is of doubtful advantage, as it does not enable the peasants to understand any better the prayers chanted

at the altar, though they can follow them in their own Russian Prayer-Books if they have had some education.

There is, therefore, no real resemblance between the reformation which is now taking place under the direction of Bishop Antonin and that which took place in Russia 300 years ago under the Tzar Alexei Mikhaïlovich, and which was enforced with true Bolshevik violence by Peter the Great. In the time of Alexei Mikhaïlovich it was found that the sacred books, hitherto kept in manuscripts, were full of copyists' errors, and Patriarch Nikon, a pious prelate and real reformer, had new translations made with the assistance of learned priests whom he had brought from Greece. These reforms were resisted by the sect now known as the Old Believers, a sect so prejudiced against anything new that it only uses ikons which were painted before the days of Nikon. The Red Church, by the way, now goes to the opposite extreme and has decided to replace the old ikons in the sanctuary by others "more in conformity with the new tendency in the Church"—in other words, by Futurist paintings. Unfortunately, Nikon's reforms were used by Peter the Great to get a grip on the Church which has paralyzed it, and the present reforms are, as we have seen, being used by the Bolsheviks in order to destroy the Church.

Besides saying the Mass in modern Russian, the new Church has introduced into the canon of the Mass a public prayer for the Soviets, and has inserted among the sacred or traditional texts of the offices profane texts and Communist hymns.

It has also made a number of onslaughts on Rome; but every Russian Church does that. One of its first acts was directed against the few Russians who are Catholic priests of the Paleoslav rite. It sternly forbade such priests to continue holding the meetings at which they were explaining to the Orthodox clergy the doctrine of the Catholic Church; and it induced the Soviet Government to expel from Russia one of these priests, Father Vladimir Abrikosov, of which I shall have something to say later (page 308).

CHAPTER V

THE RED CONGRESS

THE intrigues which I have described in the preceding chapters, and which had for their object the capture of the Orthodox citadel by a group of Bolshevik priests, found their culmination and their triumph in the Red *Sobor*, or Congress, which met at Moscow on May 2, 1923. This strange assembly modestly called itself a " Local Church Council," and attempts were made at the time in England to represent it as a regular convocation of the Russian Orthodox Church. In May, 1923, Mr. Lloyd George quoted in the House of Commons a message sent to the Archbishop of Canterbury in which the leaders and organizers of this strange assembly actually declared that there was no religious persecution in Russia.

As a matter of fact, these leaders have made themselves, as I have already indicated, the instruments of the most subtle and demoralizing form of propaganda against the Russian Church; and they represent organizations specially formed and encouraged by the Bolsheviks for the purpose of breaking up the Church from within. The special object of this Red Congress was to secure from a body of an ecclesiastical character a public and formal condemnation of the Patriarch Tikhon, and to degrade him from his rank, so that, in trying him, the Soviet Government might proceed on the pretext that he was a layman. The members of the assembly were carefully chosen, in order to ensure their support of the Bolsheviks in this disgraceful manœuvre.

Vvedensky was the leading figure at this mock congress, which was a shameful parody of what a Church Congress should be. The character of the man, and of the whole assembly, is illustrated by his opening speeches. He declared that " the sun of social truth shone out on the

world on October 25 (the date of the Bolshevik *coup d'état*). The Soviet Government does not persecute the Church, but punishes individual ecclesiastics for counter-revolutionary activities. The Government," he added, " though not believing, does the work of love which we, though believing, do not carry out."

He proposed a resolution of thanks to the All-Russian Executive Committee of the Soviets and to Lenin, " the tribune of social truth," and said: " We must bear witness before the world that political truth exists only in Soviet Russia. I do not blaspheme; I feel that at this moment Christ is with us."

Thereupon the congress proceeded to vilify the imprisoned Patriarch and to pass a resolution unfrocking him, depriving him of his monastic status, and declaring him to be a mere layman. The resolution added that " the Soviet Government is not a persecutor of the Church, but, on the contrary, is the only Government in the world that aims at establishing the ideal Kingdom of God." This resolution, like all the resolutions of the congress, was adopted with mechanical unanimity, only one member venturing to vote in opposition.

Then the congress blessed the Soviet *régime* and the Red Army, and declared its adhesion to the principles of Karl Marx, whom probably not 1 per cent. of the delegates had ever studied, as well as to the whole Communist programme, excepting only the clause against religion.

In its later proceedings the congress light-heartedly abolished the Patriarchate, declared that Bishops might marry and that priests might marry a second time, excommunicated the Russian clergy abroad, and listened to interminable political speeches in support of the Soviet Government. From the point of view of the Orthodox Church none of these resolutions has any validity.

The proceedings were, of course, a shameful parody on religion, and the Soviet press was openly contemptuous in its reports of them. This mock convocation, which the Soviet Government had staged in order to further its purpose of destroying religion, constituted one of the most shocking and offensive features of that persecution which,

in its message to the Archbishop of Canterbury, it formally denied.

Among those present at this Red Congress was an American Methodist clergyman, who seems to have been a very credulous gentleman with an extraordinary ignorance of what the "reform" movement in the Russian Church really meant; and his presence at the congress had not been authorized by the Methodist Episcopal Missions Board of his own country. "We aim to bring Christianity back to the life of the first three centuries," said Vvedensky to him; "Jesus Christ Himself was a Socialist." This American visitor believed this, and was much impressed by names like the "Ancient Apostolic Church" which some sections of the "reformers" have given themselves; though he might have known that when celibate monks talk of going back to the days of St. Peter, they are not, in nine cases out of ten, consumed by zeal for primitive Christianity: all they want is to get married.

Vvedensky is now Bishop of Moscow and President of the Administrative Committee of the Church. Vladimir Lvov, a layman who was Procurator of the Holy Synod under Kerensky, is now Procurator of the new Church, or the *Zhivtzi* (as the Living Church group is called); and he certainly is not sincere, for I had long conversations with him when both of us were in Omsk in 1919, and found him very anti-Bolshevik, but at the same time not pro-Kolchak, probably because "the Supreme Ruler" would not give him a post. Antonin emerged from the congress as Archbishop of Moscow, but has since been deposed by the *Zhivtzi*. Tikhon, the Metropolitan of Kiev, and Peter, the Metropolitan of Siberia, are members of the new Church. Krasnitzky is now Dean of the Cathedral of Christ Our Saviour in Moscow.

I began this chapter by saying that the Reds have triumphed. And, unfortunately, it is so. Despite what Orthodox theologians and pious Orthodox laymen say to the contrary, it is evident that, in this encounter with the Church, the Soviet Government has been successful. It has sown dissension among its adversaries, and it has dealt the Orthodox Church a blow which has effectually

divided it, and from which, in its present enfeebled state, it will find it exceedingly difficult to recover.

At the time of writing the Patriarch has not yet been brought to trial.

After he had spent nearly a year as a prisoner in the Donskoï Monastery, the Soviet Government announced formally that he would be tried in Moscow in April, 1923. The exact date was fixed, and all the evidence was prepared. The trial was to take place in the same court-house that had just witnessed the Cieplak trial; and the judges, the prosecutor, and the advocates for the defence were to be the same. Several circumstances combined, however, to cause a postponement of this trial. The outburst of indignation with which the murder of Mgr. Budkiewicz had been received in the outer world, and particularly in England and America, had thoroughly frightened the Bolshevik leaders, more especially Chicherin and Litvinov; and it was certain that the execution of the Patriarch would lead to the recall of the British Mission in Moscow. Moreover, there were ominous symptoms of discontent in the Red Army, which, despite all the Red propaganda in the barracks, is still 80 per cent. Christian. Hence the trial of the Patriarch was put off indefinitely, and the only punishment inflicted on him so far has been his unfrocking by the Red Church Congress in May, 1923. The attitude of England in May, 1923, saved Patriarch Tikhon's life for the time being; but I am not so sure that the saving of Tikhon's life does not mean the death of the Russian Church.

The intense interest taken by the British Government and the prelates of the Anglican Church in Tikhon, as well as their honest and generous anger at the execution of Mgr. Budkiewicz, led to the Bolshevik leaders altering their tactics in the campaign on which they had embarked against religion, and especially against the Orthodox Church, this change being foreshadowed by an article in the *Izvestia*, which said, in effect, " we are as much bent on destroying religion as ever, but we must act very warily." But the new policy is much more dangerous to religion than the old, because it is subtler, more gradual, less dramatic, and less likely to provoke an outburst of indignation in the outer world.

A new law makes it necessary for fifty members of every congregation to fill in a *questionnaire* which asks for a detailed account of their political opinions and of their political activities in the past. No matter how blameless their lives may have been, most people are frightened by this document; but if fifty people in any church have not signed it by the middle of August, 1923, that church will be closed. Moreover, each local Ispolkom (Executive Committee) is now given the right to close the "buildings of any religious societies" (by which phrase the Bolsheviks now designate "churches") in its district, without giving any reason. There is also a more stringent censorship of sermons, and greater care is taken to cut off the future supply of ecclesiastics by preventing the formation or the functioning of ecclesiastical seminaries. Only one seminary now exists in Russia, but as it carries on its work secretly and in defiance of the law, I had better say no more about it, save that its students are all supposed to be agricultural labourers.

At the same time the Bolshevik authorities, under Krylenko's direct supervision, tried every means to obtain from the Patriarch some sort of recantation. The result was that, towards the end of June, 1923, Tikhon signed the document given below, and published on June 27 by the Soviet Government. It was addressed to the Soviet Supreme Tribunal, and ran as follows:

"I consider it my duty as a priest to declare the following: Having been brought up in monarchist society, and being under the influence of anti-Soviet persons, I was really hostilely disposed towards the Soviet authority, my hostility at the time manifesting itself actively. For example, there was my proclamation about the Brest-Litovsk peace, the anathematizing of the Soviet Government in 1918, and my appeal against the decree sequestrating Church valuables in 1922.

"Recognizing the justice of the court's decision to bring me to trial, I repent my offences against the Constitution of the State, and beg the Supreme Court to free me from custody.

"Henceforth I am no enemy of the Soviet Government. Finally, I determinedly abjure the foreign and internal White Guard monarchist counter-revolution."

On the same day " the Supreme Tribunal decided," according to a report issued by the Soviet Government, " to grant the petition of Bellavin and to withdraw his custodians," and the *Pravda* devoted a leading article to Tikhon's petition, which it regarded as a recantation that made the Patriarch's friends in the outside world look rather foolish.

On June 29 the Soviet Russian Telegraph Agency stated that the Patriarch Tikhon made the following statement to the agency's correspondent:

" While kept in custody I suffered no restraint except, of course, the prohibition to conduct services. Communications in the foreign press alleging that I was tortured are absurd; my treatment was of the best. I have completely adopted the Soviet platform, and consider that the Church must be non-political. If the news that the prelates who have gone abroad are engaged in counter-revolutionary activity proves true, I propose that they cease such work as incompatible with the pastoral office. I think that they will listen to me."

A curious feature even of those appeals and declarations which the Patriarch admits he signed is that they are all written in the journalistic style of the Bolshevik news-agencies, and not in the peculiar and somewhat pompous phraseology of the Orthodox Churchman, a special phraseology whereof examples will be found scattered throughout the preceding chapters of this book. The only explanation is that those documents were drawn up by the Bolsheviks, and then presented to the Patriarch for his signature.

It is difficult to approve of the phrase, " I have completely adopted the Soviet platform, and consider that the Church must be non-political," for the Soviet platform is murder and robbery ; and the trespass on religion should be resisted even if the Bolsheviks maintain that their action is purely political. No doubt it was the Patriarch's anxiety for the Church that led him to give way; but it would have been better for the Church if he had refused to sign, even at the risk of his life. Many Russian priests hold, I know, that Bolshevism is a storm which will pass, and that meanwhile there is no harm in bending

to it, but in other countries, during times of religious persecution, well-intentioned priests, astute men, not at all weak, bent in the same way before the blast, only to discover, when they raised their heads, that their Church had vanished.

On its side the Soviet Government has ceased to support the "Living Church" to quite the same extent as it had before done. The present position is somewhat obscure, but, according to the best information I can get, it is as follows: Tikhon lives in the Donskoï Monastery, where he celebrates Mass and receives visitors. Whenever he leaves the monastery he is carefully watched; and though the Bolsheviks are now talking less and less about his approaching trial, they still keep the threat of a great State prosecution hanging over his head like a sword, a sword which will fall, presumably, once he acts in opposition to the Government. Tikhon still retains the rank and the vestments of Patriarch; and the Bolsheviks do not object to his doing so, though they always call him by his civil name of Bellavin, thus recognizing his deposition by the Red Congress. He is also regarded as Patriarch by the majority of the Orthodox, among whom he is very popular; but many of those Orthodox have confessed privately to members of foreign Missions that of all the blows which the Russian Church has received during the last five years, the Patriarch's surrender is the worst. In public they do not say so, however; and in the discussions between the members of the new Church and the old, which were organized after Tikhon's release, the latter carried the audience with them to such an extent that the Soviet authorities have stopped those discussions, perhaps because the "Living Church" is still to some extent under the wing of the Soviet, but more likely because the Bolsheviks became alarmed at the enthusiasm for Tikhon which was manifested by the crowd at those assemblies.

One of the first things the Patriarch did after making his peace with the Soviet was to indulge in a bitter attack on the Vatican, which he accused of insidiously trying to undermine the Russian Church, and to call on all Orthodox Russians to unite against the Roman Catholic invasion,

which was attempting, he said, to turn Russian discord to its own account. This attack is regarded even by English Protestant observers in Moscow as an act of questionable taste, for during a whole year the Holy Father did his best to make the Bolsheviks release the imprisoned Russian priests, and especially to release the Patriarch himself. During a whole year many hundreds of Orthodox priests and their families were fed and clothed by the Papal Relief Mission, without any attempt being made to tamper with their religion; and the very altar wine used at present by the Patriarch and by the Moscow clergy came from the Vatican, that supplied by the Archbishop of Canterbury having failed to reach its destination. Cardinal Mercier had offered a home to the Patriarch in his own palace; and, owing to the storm it excited outside, Mgr. Budkiewicz's death may be said to have saved Tikhon's life. On the same occasion the Patriarch accused the Poles of persecuting the Orthodox Church, this accusation being so nearly on the same lines as that of Ganetzky, which was read at the Cieplak trial, that it almost looked as if Tikhon were acting as the mouthpiece of Chicherin. Finally, he also attacked the Baptists and other Protestant bodies for their proselytizing activities in Russia.

Meanwhile Bishop Antonin has been deposed, and there is a probability that all the "reformed" churches will gradually wither up and die; but, on the other hand—to put it bluntly—there is also a probability that the Bolsheviks have secured, as their unconscious tool, Patriarch Tikhon himself, for if he is pledged, as he practically is pledged, not to oppose any of the Soviet laws, he will see all Orthodoxy wither up and die. These laws prohibit the imparting of religious instruction to children, save by their parents, prohibit the preaching of uncensored sermons, and prohibit the training of ecclesiastical students for the priesthood. They constitute, therefore, State interference with the Church, and if State interference under the Tzarist *régime* warped the growth of the Church, State interference under the Bolshevik *régime* will kill it. Tikhon's death would have given life to the Church; his life may mean the Church's death.

Even in the past, Tikhon had been too apathetic and had acted with too little judgment. It was bad strategy of his to let the Bolsheviks force a quarrel with him on the subject of Church treasures, a subject wherein, for historical reasons, his best ally, England, could not very well assist him. It would have been much better if he had forced a fight on the subject of religious instruction to children, for there he would have had all the world with him; and, as the head of the whole Russian Church, he would have carried greater weight than Archbishop Cieplak, the head of a comparatively small foreign community. The result of this bad strategy was seen in the slight interest taken by the outside world in the persecution of the Patriarch, in contrast to the warm interest taken by it in the persecution of the Archbishop. Moreover, apart from its frontal attack on the Church, the Soviet Government had trespassed on parental authority and on the home to an extent which no Christian prelate should have permitted without a public protest, which would have resounded throughout Europe and America. To show in detail how far such trespass extends would necessitate too long a digression; so that I shall only mention one point—namely, the right which the Soviet Government claims, and exercises, of extorting from its citizens information on sexual matters, about which no Government has ever asked for information before. I do not refer to the practice of debauched medical students and " lady " doctors giving to school children of both sexes erotical lectures illustrated by films; though this practice, known as " the teaching of sex hygiene," is, in my opinion, wrong. I refer to the *questionnaires* on sexual questions which are sent out by the Commissariat of Public Health. One such *questionnaire* was sent, in the spring of 1923, to all women and adolescent girls in Moscow, and these were required by law to fill it up. Most of the questions related to self-abuse and to unnatural vices, with which the compilers of the *questionnaires* had apparently no quarrel; all they seemed to want to know about was the mental and physical effects produced and the nature of the cravings excited.

No self-respecting prelate could give a general promise of obedience to a Government which issues documents like

this, least of all a prelate occupying the very exceptional position which Patriarch Tikhon occupies. For the Patriarch is not only the head of nearly all the Eastern Church; he is the only champion left of a great race which may, in fifty years' time, be the predominant race in Europe, and the physical as well as the moral fitness of that race is for the moment in his care. What would St. Athanasius have done in such circumstances? What would have been the attitude of any of the great Byzantine Churchmen who flourished before the eleventh century? Would they not have taken the course which Archbishop Cieplak took, and boldly refused to obey the law of the Soviet whenever it came into conflict with the law of Christ? It may be urged that, during the French Revolution, certain French prelates behaved no better than Patriarch Tikhon; but, owing to the international character of the Western Church, the injury thus done to Christianity was not so great: if the hierarchy gave way in one country, it remained firm in another.

The Patriarch is a holy man, but he is not a great man. He cannot do the great thing in a great way. He is apathetic. He lacks initiative and personal magnetism. Nevertheless, his faults are due less to himself personally than to the weakness of his Church, about which I shall have a good deal to say in the next chapter. Among the priests and clergy of that Church one finds many men worthy of the heroic days of primitive Christianity; but one also finds in it cranks and knaves like those whom I describe in Chapter III. From such men and from the Bolsheviks, and even from many pious but misinformed brethren, the Patriarch received nothing but false information about his own clergy inside and outside Russia, about the Vatican, about the Protestants, about the foreign Powers; and those, in turn, received a great deal of false information about Tikhon. I have reason to believe that exactly the same pressure which was brought to bear on Patriarch Tikhon is now being brought to bear on Archbishop Cieplak; and that this persistent pressure takes the form of flattery and of kindness, as well as of threats and of harshness. Archbishop Cieplak has been removed to a separate cell, and is certainly

the object of much intrigue and negotiation. The Polish Government is very hopeful about his speedy release; but week follows week, and month follows month, yet that release seems blocked by some mysterious obstacle. What is that obstacle? It is probably Cieplak's refusal to sign some statement drawn up by the Bolshevik Government, some statement which looks harmless, but is not quite harmless. Towards the end of August, 1923, information, which is unfortunately only too authentic, reached me about the Archbishop's state of health. It is bad. The great Prelate's mind seems to be affected.

To English or American people who have never been in Russia and never been in jail, the Archbishop's obstinacy may not seem worthy of any special commendation, but I, who have been in a Bolshevik prison, think that obstinacy worthy of higher praise than even the constancy of Budkiewicz in the dark death-trap of the Lubyanka, and for the same reason I can excuse the Patriarch for yielding slightly after an imprisonment lasting more than a year. For to the occupant of a Russian dungeon the outer world, with all its sympathy and its encouragement, ceases to exist, and even heaven itself seems barred out, while the subtle, insidious pressure which is kept up day and night is often successful in sapping even the firmest minds.

The threat of a public trial is kept hanging over Cieplak's head as it is kept hanging over Tikhon's head, for the Bolsheviks pretend to have discovered new documents which would justify them in trying the Archbishop again. This story of new documents has only been told to the Archbishop, being doubtless part of the Bolshevik scheme of terrorization; it has never been officially announced in the press or elsewhere.

CHAPTER VI

THE OLD CHURCH AND THE NEW

In the above account of Patriarch Tikhon's fall, an account which is compiled mostly from the statements of the Patriarch's supporters, I have already indicated my own opinion that the Russian Orthodox Church is far from perfect.

It seems to me, indeed, that most of Russia's misfortunes are due to the fact that she received her Christianity from Byzantium instead of from Rome. This assertion might be made the subject for a long disquisition and for endless controversy; but, in support of it, I cannot say much more here than that those nations which were originally evangelized, directly or indirectly, by Rome (even though many of them have severed their connection with Rome) have developed a better civilization, on the whole, than the countries which owe the faith to Constantinople. Both Rome and Byzantium were handicapped by pagan traditions, which it took them a long time to get rid of; but Byzantium was far the more heavily handicapped of the two. There was in Byzantine Christianity an Oriental poison which produced results profoundly repugnant to Western minds; for example, the practice of filling the monasteries with defeated monarchs and politicians who were first blinded and sterilized, is one that recalls Semiramis rather than Christ. Byzantium was too near the ancient, putrid "civilizations" of Persia and Babylon to escape contagion from them; and, long before the Great Schism of the year 1054, the Byzantine Church was cursed by Erastianism.

The ecclesiastical history of Constantinople is the history of the opinions (often heretical) of the Emperors, to whom the Patriarchs were piteously subject. Photius (A.D. 852) was the sixtieth Bishop of Constantinople; and of those who preceded him, twenty-two were heretics, whom the Arch-

bishop of Canterbury would agree with the Pope in recognizing as such, while no fewer than twenty-one Patriarchs were deposed for various reasons. Between A.D. 323 and 852, Constantinople was in schism for 203 years altogether. She was a prey to the heresies of the Arians, Monophysites, Monothelites, and Iconoclasts, which were all finally condemned by Œcumenical Councils

And, apart from the purely religious aspect of the question, one cannot help thinking that had Russia been evangelized by Rome instead of by Constantinople, she would have belonged more to the European family of nations, would have suffered less than she has done from an unhealthy isolation, would have abolished serfdom in the year 1761 instead of in the year 1861, and would have saved herself from Bolshevism by a timely grant of political freedom to her people.

The Erastianism communicated to the Russian Church by Byzantium led to the complete enslavement of that Church by Tzars, whose ostentatious religion had in it something superstitious and pagan; led also to an habitual and abject dependence of the Church on the civil power, and the debilitating effect of this dependence is to be seen in the conduct of many Russian hierarchs during the past five years. Confronted by a hostile Government, the Church became curiously passive and benumbed; each prelate isolated himself in absolute individualism, all cohesion was lost. Psychological dispositions peculiar to the Russian people may, indeed, be partly to blame; apathy, indolence, Oriental fatalism, the Tolstoian principle of non-resistance to evil (which principle existed, by the way, in Russia before Tolstoi's time), and, of course, historical, geographical, and social causes as well as, last but not least, the action of the Red Terror, are also to blame.

In his great works, "The Russian Idea" (1888) and "Russia and the Universal Church" (1889), Vladimir Soloviev goes deeply into the questions which I have touched upon above. He details "the inner contradictions of this revolutionary individualism" from which the world is suffering, and regards those contradictions as flowing logically from the habit of spurious Christians neglecting to

bring their public life into conformity with their speculative belief.

"The human race believed that it was enough to profess faith in Christ's divinity, without taking His teaching seriously. Certain texts from the Gospel were so arranged that one could derive whatever one wanted from them, whilst men conspired to keep silence regarding other texts which did not fit in with these arrangements. They were never tired of repeating the commandment, 'Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's,' in order to sanction a system that gave Cæsar all and God nothing. . . . Thus history has witnessed, as we do now, the strange phenomenon of a society professedly Christian and yet really pagan, not only in it life, but in the law governing its life."

Soloviev further holds that, instead of abandoning its underlying paganism, the Byzantine Empire attempted to justify itself by tampering with the purity of Christianity. The Emperors almost invariably favoured heresies of every kind, and their compromises between truth and error were a source of trouble from the fourth to the ninth century.

"Each error in turn was overcome by the opposition of the Pope, and consequently the anti-Christian despots of the Byzantine Empire finally made a direct attack upon what is, in the Christian Church, the material realization of the divine, the fixed point, the centre of all exterior and visible action, the image and instrument of God's power—the Apostolic See of Rome, the miraculous ikon of universal Christianity. . . . A decisive battle had to be fought between the pseudo-Christian Byzantine Empire and the orthodox Papacy, which was not only the infallible guardian of Christian truth, but also the first realization of this truth in the history of the human race."

After the period of "imperial heresies" came the evolution of "Orthodox" Byzantinism, "a new phase of the anti-Christian spirit." The great majority of the higher clergy of the Greek Church belonged to what may be called a semi-orthodox or orthodox anti-Catholic party. They wanted unity, provided that the centre of this unity should be in their midst; and, if the Emperors would but refrain from legislation on points of dogma, they would gladly put

up with a purely pagan State, social and political. The compact was concluded on these terms. The Emperors once for all embraced Orthodoxy as an abstract dogma, and the Orthodox hierarchy blessed the paganism of public life *in sæcula sæculorum*. After the year 842, not a single Emperor of Constantinople was a heretic or a heresiarch. Soloviev might have added, though, at the time he wrote, it would not have been safe to have given reasons, that no Russian Tzar was ever a heretic, and that in Russia the compact of which he speaks was strictly kept by the Emperors on the one side and by the Russian hierarchy on the other.

Soloviev, himself a very patriotic Russian, traces all the defects of the Russian Church to " a stupid and ignorant kind of national pride . . . that new idolatry, that mad epidemic of nationalism that is urging nations to worship their own image instead of the supreme and universal Godhead." " The true greatness of Russia," he says, " is a dead letter to our spurious patriots, who wish to impose upon the Russian nation a mission in history that they themselves have devised." Soloviev here refers to the very successful efforts made by the Russian Government, for political purposes, during all the last century, to create a legend of a holy Russian Church, the sole depository of the truth, with an historical mission to save an heretical world. As much of the weakness shown by the Orthodox Church in its contest with the Bolsheviks is due to the spiritual debility caused by its long subjection to the State, I shall give a few more apposite quotations from Soloviev.

" Christianity," he says, " admits the permanence of national life and the rights of nations, but condemns nationalism, which is, in a nation, what egotism is in an individual. . . . The spirit of national egotism is not easily overcome. It has found means of taking root in our midst, without openly denying the religious character innate in the Russian people. Not only does it assert that the Russians are Christians, but it proclaims emphatically that they are pre-eminently Christian, and that the Church is the true basis of our national life; but this assertion is only an excuse for the pretentious claim to possess the monopoly of faith and Christian life, and to have the Church solely with us. In this way, the Church, which is really the immovable rock

of universal unity and solidarity, becomes to Russia the palladium of a narrow nationalism, and often even the passive instrument of a selfish and spiteful policy."

Soloviev quotes with approval another Orthodox writer, Ivan Aksakov, who says that—

"A Church forming part of a State, of a 'kingdom of this world,' has been false to its mission, and must share the fate of all the kingdoms of this world. It has ceased to have in itself any *raison d'être*, and condemns itself to weakness and death. The Russian conscience is not free in Russia, and religious thought is stagnant. The abomination of desolation reigns in holy places. Speech, the weapon of the mind, is put down by the material force of the State; and around the Church we see, not angels of God, guarding its portals, but gendarmes and police inspectors, upholding Orthodoxy and directing our consciences. . . . The health-giving breath of the spirit of truth, the spirit of charity, the spirit of liberty, and the spirit of life is lacking in the Russian Church."

Commenting on this, Soloviev says:

"It is plain that the one sacrifice that we ought to make to truth is the pseudo-ecclesiastical institution that is founded on servility and material interest, and that acts by means of fraud and violence. . . . But people fear the truth because it is Catholic—*i.e.*, universal—and they desire to have at all costs a religion apart, distinctively Russian, and a Church united with the Empire. They do not care for this Church in itself, but value it as the attribute and symbol of their exclusive nationality. . . . The Russian Empire, isolated in its absolutism, is a menace to Christendom, a probable source of endless strife and warfare."

To sum up my own observations, extending over a series of years, the Russian Church has failed, to a large extent, in its mission. The obscurantism encouraged by the Imperial Government was all against its development as a religious force. The priests were generally ignorant. The educated classes were generally irreligious. The masses were fed upon superstition rather than upon a reasoned belief. There are no hypocrites in Russia; but, among many of the Orthodox, I noticed a curious want of connection between the lives which they led and the outward

religious observances to which they were so much attached. I do not mean to say that their lives were bad; all I mean is, that their conduct and their religious beliefs seemed two different things revolving independently, and with no driving-belt between them. This was more noticeable among the ignorant; for example, in a murder case which was tried in Petrograd a long time ago, the murderer, a young peasant, was discovered to have visited a shrine of St. Sebastian, while on his way to the victim's house, in order to solicit the saint's help in his enterprise!

Compared with the Latin Church, the Greek seems curiously amorphous, unorganized, undisciplined, undeveloped. One grew and produced fruit; the other remained as it was at the time of the schism and, like a lopped-off branch, produced only fungi. Russians may point to this immutability as a proof that their Church is nearer to primitive Christianity than its great rival; but I am not entering into a controversy; I am merely stating a fact as I see it. The Latin Church, though it insists on the vital importance of the interior life and still maintains great contemplative Orders, is also extraordinarily practical, adaptive, and disciplined.* The rules about going to Mass on Sundays and about confession are very strict, while there is a tendency to dispense gradually with fasting and with the other austerities which are less practicable in modern life than they were in the Middle Ages. The Eastern Church, on the other hand, is vague about practical duties, and inflexible only about austerities. The Western saints of modern times have often been men and women of action. The typical Russian saints seem always to be weak, absent-minded ancients, maudlin with the milk of human kindness, but quite unable to manage their own affairs, and incapable of inspiring respect. Father John of Kronstadt, for example, was guarded by two old women, who kept him as if he were a peep-show, and charged high prices for admission. Newspaper correspondents were always able to interview him on payment of £3, which, of course, one of the old ladies pocketed, saying it was "for a charitable object."

* For the Bolshevik view of this question see the end of Chapter I, Part II, p. 118.

One finds it hard to imagine, say, Ignatius of Loyola being thus exploited.

From the Jesuits onwards, the regular Orders in the Latin Church have always been practical—too practical, some people say—while the Black clergy or regulars of the Russian Church have, it must be confessed, been anything but that. All the other Christian Churches in the West have been even more practical than the Church of Rome. "*L'Oriental prie, l'Occidental prie et travaille. Lequel des deux a raison?*" Soloviev was Orthodox when he asked himself this question, which he had to answer in favour of the Occident.

The revolution did not, of course, remedy this state of affairs. The widespread distress and misery which it provoked drove people in thousands to the churches, but these people generally belong to the ruined upper classes. Under the pressure of great misfortunes, the ex-aristocrats and ex-bureaucrats are regaining the faith which they had practically lost, and, impecunious though they now are, it is they who mainly support the churches in the cities. One publicist, formerly a member of the Duma, has taken deacon's orders, and preaches every Sunday in a little church in Arbat Square, Moscow. Great dames whom I knew in the antediluvian Russia, and who never then struck me as being very religious, are regular church-goers now. But they only go to the monastic churches, where the old services are still held; for, in the towns at least, the other churches have acknowledged the present ecclesiastical authority and modified their services in accordance with the instructions issued by that authority, to the extent, at any rate, of saying Mass in modern Russian and not in Old Slavonic. What these conservative members of the old Church will do when the monasteries all disappear I do not know.

This sudden affection of the dethroned upper classes for the old Church is largely, I think, due to genuine religious motives, but probably it is also due in part to conservatism and to hatred of the Soviet. In other words, the Church was the only institution of the old *régime* that remained standing, and, for that reason, the upper classes rallied

round it. Outside Russia, the exiles have become very strong Churchmen, but their Church is not unfrequently identified with the Tzardom. In their religion there is thus a good deal of politics, which may do more harm than good to the ancient Church, and which may prevent its remaining, or becoming again, a national Russian Church. Politics have injured the Russian Church in the past, and will probably injure it in the future. The outcry which is being raised at the present moment by Russian *émigrés* and by foreign Governments about the persecution of the Orthodox Church is partly due, I fear, not to purely religious motives, but to anti-Bolshevism.

If the dispossessed upper classes in Russia have rallied round the Church, the lower classes in the towns have drifted away from it. One can see this at once from the decreased attendance at the churches, and from the popular neglect of those outward religious observances which were formerly such a striking feature of Russian life. If you drove through Moscow in a cab six years ago, your *izvoshchik* would certainly remove his hat and cross himself before half a dozen different churches and ikons. He does not do so now. If you passed the shrine of the Iversky Virgin in a crowded tramcar, the whole tramcar, with the exception of yourself, would express its reverence in the same way. It does not do so now, and, though people still pray publicly at that holy chapel, they are not 10 per cent. the number of those who formerly prayed there. In the old Moscow, pilgrims praying fervently before holy pictures were as much a feature of street life as hawkers are of Ludgate Hill; but now such pilgrims excite as much attention on account of their rarity as a Roman Catholic pilgrim would excite in London if he fell on his knees before the cross in St. Paul's Churchyard. I did once (in February, 1923) see a Russian pilgrim kissing the ground in the old fashion before an ikon of the Prophet Elias in Moscow, but his conduct seemed so unusual to some Russian youths who were looking on that they all testified the greatest surprise and amusement, finally running into the house to fetch out their sister, so that she should not miss the strange sight.

It may be said that this is all to the good, that it only

indicates a cessation of superstitious practices; but it really indicates the disappearance of Orthodoxy and its replacement by no other form of religious belief.

The rallying of the upper classes around the Church did not seem, however, to bring inspiration to the clergy. The spirit of martyrdom is confined to few; it is certainly not abroad in the land.

The feeling that the Church should become a living force was widely spread, but the clergy were too incompetent to take advantage of that feeling, and the people were too apathetic, depressed, and ignorant to take the lead themselves. Then the Soviet Government stepped in, and utilized for its own ends the failure of the Church to mend its ways. With a brutality which effectively crushed the sporadic attempts at resistance, it set itself, as we have seen, to destroy the hierarchy of the Church. With an ingenuity which would be admirable in a better cause, it has profited by the situation arising out of the famine to discredit the old Church administration, and it has seized an opportune moment to direct in channels useful to itself the perfectly natural and healthy desire of the people for a Church more in harmony with present needs. It has selected Antonin and his colleagues as its instruments, and has facilitated by its support the coming into existence of the so-called " Living Church " whereof these ecclesiastics were the initiators. I cannot find a good word to say of the " Living Church." It is directed by time-servers without any religious convictions themselves; but nevertheless it is a power in the land. It has, as we have seen, its headquarters in the Patriarch's Palace; it has usurped all the functions of the old Church administration, and the number of its adherents is growing. Tikhon, of course, has his party, too; but the others have all the loaves and fishes. Moreover, their confiscation of the monasteries, their abolition of religious vows, and their throwing open of all the higher ecclesiastical posts to the married clergy are measures that cannot easily be undone. Russia is in the Henry VIII stage. The Queen Mary stage may come if the Soviet Government falls, but the Queen Mary stage will almost certainly be succeeded by the Elizabethan stage. By that I

do not mean that the Bolsheviks will come back; I mean that the S.R.'s or the Mensheviks would continue the " reformation " which the Bolsheviks began.

The Muscovite branch of the Eastern Church is, in fact, undergoing a " reformation " similar in some respects to the religious Reformation which took place in Europe five hundred years ago. All ecclesiastical positions, even the highest, are to be opened to married clergymen, and the celibate, as such, is no longer to have any special consideration. Monasteries and nunneries, as a rule, have now been suppressed; and, so far as the condition of the monasteries is concerned, there is some superficial resemblance between the Moscow of 1923 and the London of 1550. There is a great temptation, indeed, to draw a parallel between the fall of the Russian Church and the fall of the Roman Catholic Church in England. The principal difference, as I have already indicated, is that, whereas the Church in England was overthrown by Christians who believed they were reforming it, the Church in Russia is being overthrown at the instigation of atheists who want to destroy it. It is true that some of the English reformers were actuated by political rather than by religious motives, and that not a few of them seem to have changed their religion as often as it suited their advantage to do so; nevertheless, they carried all England with them, as Antonin, Leonidas, Krasnitzky, and other reformers, still unborn, may carry all Russia with them, and eventually found a Church which, while different from the old Church, may nevertheless be Christian. Antonin and his colleagues may be debauchees, police spies, and everything that is foul; but religious revolutions always throw up objects as charred and hideous as those ejected from the blazing craters of political revolutions. The Orthodox hierarchs speak with bitterness of Antonin, Vvedensky, and Krasnitzky, and with pessimism of Russia's religious future under such guidance; but Sir Thomas More, Bishop Fisher, and Cardinal Reginald Pole probably spoke as bitterly of the leading English reformers, and as sadly of England's religious future if those reformers had their way.

If we look at the matter from this point of view, though I admit it is very unfair to the Anglican Church to do

so, the collapse of the Russian Church may not be so very dreadful after all, for, in the opinion of at least one great Russian thinker, M. Peter Struve,* the national development of Russia suffered by the absence of a reformation. According to this writer (with whose views on this matter I do not quite agree)—

"The significance of the Reformation in Western Europe and the subsequent Catholic reaction consists in this—that, with the help of religion and the Church, principles of a certain social morality and discipline deeply penetrated the soul of the people. The Reformation marks the secularization of Christian morality, its conversion into a discipline and practice of everyday life, or, if you like to call it so, its *embourgeoisement*.

"Besides this aspect, there is, of course," he continues, "the deeply religious and mystical aspect, sometimes blended deeply and organically with the political and educational aspect.

"In Russia, however, there was no Reformation and no secularization of Christian morality, nor was Christianity ever converted into a method and discipline of everyday life, into a bourgeois morality. In Russia there was religion and a religious sense, but into everyday life, as a principle of discipline, religion did not penetrate."

Thus, in the spiritual as in the social and political evolution of the Russian people, there is a missing link, which, for the evolution of the Western peoples, was no less important—was indeed, perhaps, even more important—than the system of feudalism and vassalage and municipal institutions. The bourgeois discipline had not in Russia these roots out of which it grew in Western Europe and in America.

If M. Struve's view is correct, good may ultimately come out of the present religious chaos in Russia. The missing discipline may be supplied, though late in the day, by the controversies, crimes, sacrifices, and horrors of a long religious turmoil.

Count Joseph de Maistre, a French writer, who wrote about Russia over a hundred years ago, but with almost prophetic insight, takes a different but an even more gloomy

* I quote from the *Slavonic Review*, June, 1922 (London).

view. Speaking of religion, he says: " Cette puissance conservatrice et préservatrice n'existe pas en Russie. La religion y peut quelque chose sur l'esprit humain, mais rien du tout sur le cœur où naissent cependant tous les désirs et tous les crimes " (" Quatre chapitres inédits sur la Russie," p. 19).

Marking the penetration into the Russian educated class of advanced Western European ideas, Joseph de Maistre deduced, from the absence of religious education in the Russian people, the possibility in Russia of a most destructive revolution in which " quelque Pougatcheff d'université " literally " smashes up " the State. The whole passage is so remarkable that it is worth giving in full. There were Russian serfs in de Maistre's time, and de Maistre begins by speaking of them.

" These serfs," he says, " in proportion as they receive their liberty, will find themselves placed between teachers more than dubious and priests without power or consideration. Thus exposed, without preparation, they will pass rapidly and infallibly from superstition to atheism, from passive obedience to unbridled activity. Liberty will have on all these temperaments the effect which a strong wine has on a man unaccustomed to it. The sight alone of this liberty will intoxicate those who have not yet taken part in it. If with this general disposition of the popular mind there should appear some University Pugachev—for such a one can easily be formed in Russia, where all the necessary conditions exist—then, according to all the rules of probability, the State will be literally broken asunder " (*op. cit.*, p. 26).

Pugachev, I should explain, was the Jack Cade of Russia, a robber chief who stirred up a great revolt of the peasants in the reign of Catherine the Great; and a better description of Lenin than a " University Pugachev " it would be hard to imagine. But my reason for giving this quotation is not because it foretells the appearance of Lenin, but because it speaks of the peasant passing " rapidly and infallibly from superstition to atheism."*

* If I were writing an article about Lenin, and searching Russian literature for prophecies of that Red Messiah's advent, I would certainly quote a remarkable poem written by the great Russian poet, Lermontov, in 1831, ninety-two years ago. It has been translated as follows by Sir Bernard Pares in the *Slavonic Review* for June, 1922.

In his *Mémoire* (1819) de Maistre declares, after asserting that Russia is, par excellence, *the* persecutor of Catholicism, that "there will result therefrom a terrible *contre-coup* against Christianity in general." Elsewhere he says that Orthodoxy will crumble to dust once the wrappings are unwound from its mummified form. Those wrappings were the Tzardom. Evidently he refers to the whole Russian people; and, if he were alive to-day, he would probably describe the New Church as a half-way house to atheism; but, naturally, Russian Christians disagree with him, and quote Soloviev's words about the eminently religious and mystical character of the Muscovite.

In my own opinion, the parallel between the English Reformation and the Russian does not hold good, the suppression of monasteries giving them a similarity which does not go deeper. The English reformers, as I have already pointed out, were Christians. The Bolsheviks are militant atheists; hence their control of the Russian Church may ultimately deprive that Church of all right to call itself Christian; and the greatest danger that there is in

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(The line, "Men waving kerchiefs as they call you out," is obscure even to Russians, but they generally take it to refer to the epidemics. "Even murderers were afraid to enter the pestilential houses; they called the people outside to be shot and waved handkerchiefs to them.")

A year shall come, our blackest year of all,
In which the Crown of Russia's Tzars shall fall:
The mob shall change its old confiding mood,
And death and blood shall be our daily food.
Law, overthrown, no more shall guard the lives
Of tender children and of guiltless wives;
Then stinking corpses shall send forth disease
To stalk throughout our wretched villages;
Men waving kerchiefs as they call you out,
Our country shall lie starving in the drought;
Red flames shall glow upon our streams that hour;
And then shall stand revealed the Man of Power;
And thou shalt know him and shalt understand
For what he holds the dagger in his hand.
And this is woe for thee! Thy tears, thy plaint
For him that day shall make but merriment;
And all in him is ghastly, all is gloom,
Even as his sable cloak and lofty plume.

Bolshevism may be still to come. As an economic theory Bolshevism has been a failure, but now it may conquer as a religious theory; and, as it has already got complete control of all the Church organization and machinery, there is no reason to believe that it will fail to capture the great bulk of the submissive and ignorant peasantry of Russia.

What we have now got to take into account is the fact that the great Church of Russia has got into the hands of its enemies to almost as great an extent as the great empire of Russia has got into the hands of the Bolsheviks. In outward appearance that Church is the same. Its decrees are couched in the old style. Its services are little altered. The whole of the vast machinery moves as before. But in complete charge of that machinery are renegade Archbishops, Bishops, and priests, who, judging by their written declarations, are themselves Bolsheviks or, at all events, willing instruments of the Soviet power.

There are many good Bishops, but those opposed to the new movement are being ejected from their sees. A great many—I think all—of the Bishops in Siberia have been thus deprived of their sees, and not only that, but sent to jail for a number of years on the charge of having celebrated Masses at which Kolchak was present, though one of them declared that it was his duty to say Mass, and that he would say Mass for the Bolsheviks if they asked him to do so. Priests "of counter-revolutionary tendencies"—in other words, opponents of the Red Church—are being relieved of their posts and, as a rule, sent to prison also on one pretence or another; while Church committees opposed to the present Government are being dissolved.

Ecclesiastical groups which have taken over Church property on the basis of the Decree of Separation are being denounced to the Commissariat of the Interior as nests of counter-revolution, and consequently dissolved, their property being handed over to the congregations under a guarantee of the local branches of the Living Church. Funds collected from all sources in the Church are being handed over to the new Supreme Church Administration, which will, in any case, be assured of a large and steady income, as all the wonder-working ikons, places of pilgrimages, and other

money-making devices of the old Church will continue to bring money into the coffers of the new, for the *muzhik* will be far too ignorant to see that any serious change has taken place. His village church will remain where it was. In ninety-nine cases out of one hundred the parish priest will remain in it under the new *régime*, for an elderly, ignorant man with a strong-minded wife and a large family will think twice before he gives up his appointment, and thereby reduces himself and those dependent on him to beggary. Moreover, not one country priest in a thousand knows the truth of what has happened; they get all their information about Tikhon and the new Church from the Government newspapers and from the paper which, by an extraordinary favour of the Soviet Government, the " Living Church " is allowed to publish. This newspaper is called *The Living Church*, and is the only paper in Russia published by an organization which is nominally non-Bolshevik.

How will the new Russian Church stand from the point of view of other Christian Churches? Constantinople is said to have excommunicated it; but it also excommunicated Bulgaria, and nothing happened. Moreover, representatives of Constantinople and the other Eastern Patriarchates attended the Red *Sobor* held in Moscow in May, 1923, and, according to the *Izvestia*, those representatives are now negotiating amicably with Vvedensky and his friends. It is difficult to see how they could do otherwise, for the breath of change is passing over them all; the movement in favour of the second marriage of priests is strong throughout the whole Orthodox world, and particularly in Yugo-Slavia: this is the thin end of the wedge. Moreover, it is doubtful if any Orthodox Church can exist independently of the civil power, even when that civil power is anti-Christian. The Patriarch of Moscow has bent to the Atheist Reds, and the present Patriarch of Constantinople is a mere tool in the hands of a Mohammedan soldier, Mustapha Kemal, while the other Orthodox Churches are practically part of the local civil service.

" A hierarchy which wishes to be national, and nothing but national, must, whether it likes or not, recognize the civil power as its absolute master." Never were these

words of Vladimir Soloviev truer than they are to-day; but there is another sentence of Soloviev's which many Russians, more pessimistic perhaps than the facts of the case warrant, now repeat with sadness: " How can this be the true Church, since, as a matter of fact, the Gates of Hell *have* prevailed against it ?"

From the Roman Catholic point of view the new Russian Church will stand exactly where the old stood. It will be a schismatic, not an heretical Church; its Bishops will have the Apostolic succession, and its priests will have the power to forgive sins and to work the miracle of transubstantiation, for up to the present the ordinations and consecrations of the new Church have been perfectly valid. Thus we have the extraordinary spectacle of an ancient Christian hierarchy which has had the torch of the faith handed on to it by the Fathers of the Byzantine Church, and which is admitted by all other Christian Churches to possess all the plenitude of priestly power—we have the extraordinary spectacle of such a hierarchy becoming a puppet moved at the will of a most anti-Christian and atheistical Government which has never lost an opportunity of harrying religion. That Government is also placed in a singularly incongruous position, for it has protected and fostered the development of the " Living Church " for which it has made itself responsible. Despite the reappearance of the Patriarch, the " Living Church " is, to some extent, the Established Church of Russia. By the strong stand they took about a year ago against the Polish Government, the Bolsheviks even emerged as the champions of oppressed religious minorities abroad ; and nothing more curious occurred during the Cieplak trial than the reading in court of a long statement from the Russian Foreign Office recounting the wrongs that Poland had inflicted on the Orthodox believers.

Russian Christianity may be saved, however, by its enemies. If the Bolsheviks are so very ill-advised as to make a martyr of the fallen Patriarch, despite his partial submission to them, they will do just the one thing needed to rehabilitate him in the eyes of the faithful, and to stem the tide of the reformation. They may make some fatal error

like this, though, so far, their policy towards the Church has been marked by craft as well as by brutality.

Till now they have seemed to know exactly how far they could safely go; and they went just to the danger-line when, during the trial of the fifty-four, they showed a disposition to declare illegal all forms of Church government in Russia. Had they done so, they would have come into collision simultaneously with Rome, Canterbury, Jerusalem, and Mecca; but somebody, perhaps Lenin, averted this disaster by suddenly changing the course. But Lenin is not at the helm now, and will never be again.

PART II
ROME

"If the Soviet Government orders me to act against my conscience, I do not obey. As for teaching the Catechism, the Catholic Church lays it down that children must be taught their religion, no matter what the law says. Conscience is above the law. No law which is against the conscience can bind."—*Mgr. Leonidas Fedorov, Mitred Abbot, Protonotary Apostolic, and Exarch for the Catholics of the Slav Rite in Russia* (see p. 192).

CHAPTER I

THE VATICAN AND THE KREMLIN

I NOW come to the persecution launched against the Catholic Church in the spring of 1923. There is an impression abroad, even in the best-informed circles in England and America, that up to that time the Catholics had been treated with comparative leniency by the Soviet Government, partly because they had been persecuted under the Tzars, partly because they constituted a small minority in Russia, partly because they had powerful friends outside Russia, but mostly because the Bolsheviks had hopes of using the Church of Rome against the Orthodox Church, and of inducing the Vatican to send a diplomatic representative to Moscow, a step which would, in the opinion of the Bolshevik leaders, raise the prestige of the Soviet Government in foreign countries.

The Pope showed no disposition, however, to enter into any arrangement with the Soviet Government at the expense of the Orthodox Church, but, for purely philanthropic reasons, he sent a famine-relief mission to Russia in the spring of 1922. Why, the reader may ask, was it necessary for him to send a special mission? It was necessary because of the difficulty at that time of sending money, food, or clothing to persons in Russia, a difficulty which still exists in September, 1923, though it is not nearly so great as it was in the early part of 1922. The foreign commercial missions in Moscow refused, quite rightly, to distribute relief; the Nansen Mission was supported too much by Communists, and the Holy See was probably unwilling that its alms should be swallowed up in those of the American Relief Administration. After all, the Quakers sent a relief mission to Russia; the American Jews sent a relief mission; why should not the Pope send a relief mission?

The Pope did so. The mission he sent was under the direction of Dr. Walsh, an American Catholic clergyman; but though Dr. Walsh corresponded with the Soviet Government on the subject of the agreement which that Government wanted the Catholic clergy in Russia to enter into with it regarding their use of the nationalized Catholic Churches, he had no diplomatic status.*

These are the facts of the case, but around these simple facts a whole network of suspicion and misrepresentation has grown. An official organ of the Soviet Government has stated, in a passage which I quote in the Appendix, that the whole difficulty about the Petrograd churches arose from the desire of the Vatican that the Kremlin should accredit a special envoy to the Holy See, whereas, on the contrary, the Bolsheviks would have been only too delighted at an invitation to send such an envoy, while the Pope has invariably turned a deaf ear to all the hints which he received from Moscow on this subject.

When Chicherin was at the Genoa Conference in the spring of 1922, Cardinal Gasparri wrote to him on the subject of the difficulty that had arisen between Archbishop Cieplak and the Soviet authorities in Petrograd with regard to the altar vessels confiscated for purposes of famine relief. I have read the whole letter, and I reproduce in the Appendix the portion of it which refers to this point; the preceding portion, I might say, is a warm and generous appeal for the release of Patriarch Tikhon, and Cardinal Gasparri makes a similar appeal in his telegram to Lenin, which I also reproduce in the Appendix. In none of the correspondence exchanged between the Vatican and Dr. Walsh on one side, and the Soviet authorities on the other, is there any attempt on the part of the Pope to conclude an arrangement at the expense of the Orthodox Church.

The Russian exiles in Western Europe are morbidly sensitive, however, to anything that looks like a *rapprochement* between Lenin and the Vatican, or, in fact, between Lenin and anybody else. Some of them with whom I

* In his last speech at the Cieplak trial, Krylenko said that the Pope had no representative in Russia. See that speech, Part II, Chapter VII, p. 244.

spoke in the beginning of 1922 were afraid that the Bolsheviks meant to utilize the famine as a means for a *rapprochement* with foreign Powers, and were themselves inclined to use that great calamity as well as the persecution of the Church for the overthrow of Bolshevism. They wanted relief to be administered through their friends; but the Soviet Government refused to agree to this, and then America came in, followed by the Pope. By doing so, both America and the Pope made themselves cordially hated by the White Russians, and this hatred explains a good deal of the anti-Papal outburst on the part of the *émigrés* in May, 1922.

Anti-Bolshevik Russia's suspicions of the Vatican were strengthened by several events which took place during the Genoa Conference of 1922. The *émigrés* were violently opposed to this conference, because it was the first assembly of the kind to which delegates of the Soviet Government had been invited, and because one of its objects was to consider the possibility of admitting Bolshevik Russia to the family of nations. They were furious, therefore, with the Pope when, on April 29, he wrote to the members of the conference expressing the hope that success would crown their efforts to restore normal conditions in Europe, and especially in Eastern Europe, "already ravaged by war, by internal struggles, by religious persecution"; and they were still more furious when, on May 14, the Holy See addressed to the conference a Memorandum asking that if any arrangement were made with Russia by the other countries represented, the Soviet Government should be asked (1) to grant full liberty of conscience to everybody in Russia, Russians and foreigners; (2) to permit the public and private practice of all religions; (3) to admit the right of all religious denominations to own property. But the rage of the *émigrés* exceeded all bounds when, on May 14, Mgr. Pizzardo, the Acting Secretary of State at the Vatican, called personally on M. Chicherin at Santa Margherita, though, as a matter of fact, his object in calling was (1) to obtain passports for the eleven Papal relief missionaries whom the Pope wished to send to Russia, and (2) to plead for the protection of the religious interests of the Orthodox and the Catholics in Russia.

The last straw, so far as the *émigrés* were concerned, was a chance meeting which took place at this time between M. Chicherin and the Archbishop of Genoa. As I was myself at Genoa on this occasion, and as I had from the Archbishop's own lips an account of what took place, I am in a position to make this matter clear. The King of Italy visited Genoa during the progress of the conference, and invited the foreign representatives to lunch with him on board his yacht. The Archbishop, who was also invited, found himself seated next to Chicherin, with whom, quite naturally, he exchanged some words during the course of the meal. He asked Chicherin if the Catholic Church was free in Russia, and Chicherin replied that it was perfectly free—as free as it was in America.

This was all the conversation that took place between the Archbishop and the Bolshevik representative; but, naturally, the newspaper correspondents had to make the most of it, the juxtaposition of the two words "Archbishop" and "Bolshevik" being too much for all of them, including myself. Next day the *Secolo* of Genoa published a florid account of the banquet, and described how Chicherin and the Archbishop had "clinked glasses" and drunk to one another's health. They did not do so, as a matter of fact; but, even if they had done so, I fail to see anything very terrible in it.

To most of the Russian exiles in Paris and London, this clinking of glasses (which did not take place) was the bond which sealed a diabolical bargain between the Jesuits and the Communists for the disruption of the Orthodox Church; and even to this day, despite the condemnation of Archbishop Cieplak and the murder of Mgr. Budkiewicz, Russian writers like Professor Kartashev of Paris, Professor N. Glubokovsky, Prince Nicholas Trubetzkoy, and M. Sufchinsky refer, in numberless pamphlets and newspaper articles, to this mythical alliance as an historical fact, and use language about it which even Belfast could hardly improve upon.

The "Open Letter to the Pope" which the members of the Russian National Committee in Paris published in May, 1922, before they had even read the Papal Memorandum to which that "Open Letter" was a reply, was regarded by

Catholics as extremely offensive. In some of the newspapers published by the emigrants there were definite but absolutely false announcements that a Concordat had actually been concluded between the Bolsheviks and the Holy See; and in a Pentecostal sermon, the Archimandrite Tikhon, of the Russian Embassy Chapel in Berlin, gave a detailed and harrowing description of Chicherin's reception by the Pope, all the details being borrowed from newspaper accounts of the Papal reception accorded at that time to the King of the Belgians, for Chicherin has never been received in audience by Pius XI.

But it would be unfair to the Russian *émigrés* to take this vituperative literature too seriously, and it must be admitted that many of the most eminent among them, such as Father Peter Izvolsky of Brussels (a great friend of Cardinal Mercier's), and that remarkable priest and philosopher, Father Bulgakov of Prague, write and speak on the question of reunion with wisdom and moderation. Nevertheless, some of the *émigrés* seem to be suffering from what, by analogy with shell-shock, I might call " revolution-shock "; and nobody who has not gone through the same terrible experiences as they should be over-ready to criticize them.

Probably no revolution in modern times has been so cruel to its victims as the Bolshevik Revolution. Not only have the Russian *émigrés* suffered more in a material sense than the Cavaliers suffered under Cromwell, or than the French aristocrats suffered under Robespierre, but that material suffering has been accompanied by moral suffering a hundred times more painful. The English *émigrés* in France 270 years ago, and the French *émigrés* in England 130 years ago, could at least boast that they had done their best, and that their respective Churches had stood firm. The honourable and religious Russian aristocrat and officer is haunted, however, by the suspicion that his class did not do its best, and that Lenin's seizure of power was a pure " fluke " which might easily have been prevented. For a time he consoled himself by prophesying that the Soviet Government would not last three weeks. It has now lasted six years. Then he pinned his hopes on the peasants, but

the peasants are calmly enjoying the expropriated estates of the gentry, and showing no disposition to welcome the landowners back. Finally, disillusioned on the subject of all human support, he turned to God and to the Church; but God is silent, and most of His ministers in Russia are passive, if not willing, instruments of Bolshevik policy. The root cause of all this disappointment is a very bad Government and a very imperfect Church in the past; but no individual can be blamed for the faults of a Government or of a Church which was in existence, with all those faults, before his great-grandfather was born. On this account I think that the brave and high-minded men and women who are to be found in large numbers among the Russian *émigrés* are far more to be pitied than the victims of either the Cromwellian or the French Revolution.

And for the same reason the Orthodox priests who have suffered for their faith are more to be pitied than the Catholic priests. It is easy to suffer for a Church whose attitude is expressed in Mgr. Fedorov's declaration which rings like a trumpet-blast at the beginning of this chapter. It is not so easy to suffer for a Church which has practically been, for centuries, part of the Tzarist Civil Service, and whose Patriarch has stated that he has "completely adopted the Soviet platform."

No doubt the proud inflexibility of Catholicism, which was so strikingly displayed at the Cieplak trial, is apt to make autocratic rulers detest that religion. It was hated with especial violence by the Tzars (who were also, I have no doubt, honestly convinced that it was a false and vicious system); and it is equally hated by the Bolsheviks to-day. Writing, in 1819, of Alexander I's hostility to Rome, Joseph de Maistre used language which might be applied equally well to the Soviet's hostility towards Catholicism.

"There is," he says, "in the teaching of the Catholic Church a hauteur, an assurance, an inflexibility which displease temporal rulers, who cannot believe that they are master, or sufficiently master, where there exists a power with which they cannot do as they please. It never occurs to them that this pride and this independence are the natural and necessary characteristics of truth, so much so

that where independence does not exist, truth does not exist. . . . Truth is invincible, independent, and inflexible . . . It is said in the Gospels that the peoples who heard the preaching of the Saviour were astonished because He did not speak to them like their doctors, *but as one having authority*. . . . The religion which has not this tone is human."

Unfortunately, however, for Rome, its inflexibility makes it as unpopular among the White Russians as among the Red. The Russian *émigrés* regard any conversion at the present moment from Orthodoxy to Catholicism as an act of treachery to Holy Russia.

Though they themselves are exiled and scattered, though there are innumerable dissensions among them, and though the administrative machinery of their Church is now in the hands of the Bolsheviks, the Orthodox leaders abroad still connect in their minds the two ideas of Church and State, ideas which it was the object of all the Tzars since the time of Michael Romanov to intertwine so closely together in the national consciousness that they could never be torn apart.

The close connection which existed between Russian nationality and the Russian national religion is well shown in the decree banishing the Jesuits, whose chief offence, according to that decree, was " the perversion of ignorant and tender-minded youth from the light of the Orthodox faith and love for Holy Russia to the vicious tenets of Rome." In the reign of Nicholas I (1825-1855) the Polish insurrection made the terms " Pole " and " Catholic " synonymous; and Nicholas himself loathed those subjects of his who, to use his own words, embraced " the Polish religion and imagined that they could remain Russian."

Even those members of the Orthodox Church who know that by joining the Catholic Church one does not thereby become a Polish citizen, are more suspicious of the Catholics, who differ from them so little, than they are of the Protestants, who differ from them so much, probably for the same reason as makes the Bolsheviks much more hostile towards those Socialist parties, who hold almost the same political

tenets as they do themselves, than they are towards the Monarchists.

Even while Chicherin was telling the Archbishop of Genoa that the Catholic Church enjoyed as much liberty in Russia as it did in America, Archbishop Ropp of Petrograd was living in exile after having been imprisoned by the Bolsheviks, who finally exchanged him for Karl Radek (then in a German prison); and his successor, Mgr. Cieplak, was having great difficulties with the Soviet Government. Those difficulties centred around three decrees of the Soviet: (1) The decree obliging twenty laymen of each Church to sign an agreement with the Soviet Government, acknowledging that Government's ownership of the Church buildings and property; (2) the decree ordering all altar vessels and other Church treasure to be surrendered for purposes of famine relief; and (3) the decree prohibiting religious instruction.

Archbishop Cieplak, who is a man of scrupulous conscience, was convinced that he had no authority to give way on any of these points. He allowed his priests to continue imparting religious instruction to children. He delayed giving up the altar plate, which was all the "treasure" his churches possessed. He prevented any agreement being signed with regard to the ownership of the churches until he had obtained permission from Rome (permission which, owing partly to difficulties of communication, took years to come); and it is a remarkable fact that the Bolsheviks failed to win over to their side a single Catholic layman, let alone a single Catholic priest, though, throughout five years, they must have made persistent efforts to do so.

This failure on the part of the Bolsheviks is due not only to the strict discipline which prevails in the Church of Rome and to the fact that Archbishop Cieplak made no secret of his intention to excommunicate any Catholic who should enter into an agreement with the Bolsheviks regarding the churches; it is due, in a far greater measure, to the respect felt for their priests by the Catholic community. Those priests were the only clergymen not belonging to the Russian Church who stayed at their posts throughout the whole period of the Terror. All the others—German, Scandi-

navian, English, Swiss, etc.—had fled. The Catholic priests alone remained, though they might very easily have deserted their congregations and gone to Warsaw or to Rome; and they not only remained in Moscow and Petrograd, they also remained in every other place where a Catholic church had been built. While traversing Siberia in January, 1920, under circumstances which I have already described,* I found a Catholic church functioning in every town along the Siberian Railway, the acolyte lighting the altar candles in the grey of the morning and the priest saying exactly the same Mass as is said every day in the Cordilleras, in Tahiti, in Manila, in the heart of China, in St. Peter's, in Notre Dame, in London, in the storm-swept isles of the Outer Hebrides, in New York, and saying it as calmly as if the fierce tides of revolution were not roaring and swirling around his church. In this calmness and regularity there was something exceedingly impressive. It was the calmness and regularity of a system which did not depend on the will of man. It was the calmness and regularity of the sun rising daily in the east.

During the course of the trial, there was much sarcastic laughter among the Communists in court when the Procurator read out a letter from Father Yunevich, one of the accused, saying that, thanks to the care of the faithful, they were doing "not badly." The Communists thought, apparently, that the priests had been living in luxury, though everyone in the towns, save commissars, Communists, Red soldiers, and speculators had suffered from dire want, especially in the dreadful winter of 1919. During that winter, townspeople who did not belong to any of the above categories had to forage for food in the country, and some of the Catholics were good enough to forage for their priests

* See *A Prisoner of the Reds* (John Murray, 1921). In a very flattering review of this book, the *Church Times*, April 22, 1921, says: "The Roman Catholic priests in Russia deserve the high tribute which our author pays to their courage and devotion in the hour of peril."

That courage and devotion account for the unbreakable front which the Roman Catholic clergy and laity in Russia have presented to Bolshevism throughout the last six years, and for the behaviour of Archbishop Cieplak and his clergy at their trial.

as well as for themselves. During periods of intense cold, they often travelled fifty miles from Petrograd, clinging to the outside of railway carriages; and on their way back they had frequently to walk fifteen or twenty miles on foot, laden with food, of which the Red soldiers occasionally relieved them. And it must be remembered that they themselves were under-nourished, badly clad, and worse shod. Anyone who sneers at this touching devotion will sneer at any kind of devotion, at any kind of loyalty.

As a matter of fact, the life of the average Catholic priest in Russia, very hard at the best of times, became almost unbearable after the Bolshevik Revolution. In the report of the trial which will occupy all the rest of this book, the reader will often meet with the names of Petrograd churches; but he should remember that, in most cases, these churches are poor, tiny, tawdry places, sometimes made of corrugated iron, and generally situated in the worst slums, for in Russia, as in most other places, the Catholic Church is the Church of the poor; and that, far from having houses of their own, the priests in charge of those churches occupied, as a rule, a few rooms in a wretched flat. Yet these priests were sometimes men of great refinement. All of them spoke more than one language. Some of them had been educated in Italian Universities, and possessed a cultured taste in painting, music, architecture, and literature. The majority of them were Poles, as was quite right, for the great bulk of the Catholics in Russia are Poles; but a great many were Lithuanians, or White Russians, with sometimes very little sympathy for Poland. Three or four of the priests who were tried with Archbishop Cieplak were Russians, White Russians, and Lithuanians; but, though all but one of the prisoners were Russian citizens, they generally regarded Poland as their country, though their attachment was purely sentimental and never led them to work for the Warsaw Government in a political sense. One of the strongest characters among all the prisoners was the Exarch Fedorov, a pure Russian who, though under the Vatican, was not under Archbishop Cieplak. Very strong, too, were the Archbishop and Mgr. Budkiewicz, of whom I shall have more to say in the next chapter. The Bolsheviks

showed themselves to be well informed when they accused Budkiewicz of being the backbone of the opposition they encountered among the Catholic clergy of Petrograd, but that opposition did not proceed from obstinacy, still less from hatred; it was the unyielding opposition of a man who, sure of his own principles, cannot compromise with regard to them.

I opened this chapter with a reference to the impression abroad that, up to the spring of 1923, the Catholics in Russia had been treated with comparative leniency by the Soviet Government; but, as a matter of fact, they had, even before that time, suffered almost as much at the hands of the Bolsheviks as the Orthodox Russians themselves. And, like the Orthodox Christians, they sometimes enjoyed a certain latitude in one place while being fiercely persecuted in another. As late as the summer of 1918 the Catholic clergy were allowed to hold public processions on Corpus Christi in the streets of Petrograd, and a Corpus Christi procession was held in public, by permission of the Soviet authorities, as late as 1921, by the Vicar of Kolpino, in the suburbs of Petrograd; but perhaps I should not cite that Kolpino procession as an example of Bolshevik tolerance, since the vicar in question was immediately arrested for " counter-revolutionary propaganda " and sentenced to one year's imprisonment. At the same time his church was closed by order of the Petrograd Soviet, and it still remains closed. Luckily, the application of St. Catherine's Church in Petrograd for permission to hold a procession on the same occasion was refused, " owing to the baneful influence of these religious performances on the population," to quote the official answer. Incidentally, I might say that the good effect of those processions on the general population had been very marked. The sight of the crucifix carried through the streets moved the down-trodden people to an extent that the Bolsheviks did not at all like.

Archbishop Ropp and Bishop Cieplak were inclined at first to think that they would enjoy more liberty under Communism than they had enjoyed under Tzarism, for though the Imperial Government had maintained a representative at the Vatican, it had interfered continually with

the internal affairs of the Catholic hierarchy in Russia. It had deprived Bishop Ropp of his see before he became Archbishop, and had exiled him from Russia. It had insisted that about a million Catholics in White Russia belonged to the Orthodox Church, and had sometimes made Cossacks flog these people into the Government churches on Sundays. It had exercised a veto over all ecclesiastical appointments. It had refused to recognize the existence of the Græco-Catholic or Uniat Church at all, and had cruelly persecuted the clergy and laity of that communion. When, in 1915, the Grand Duke Nicholas captured Lemberg or Lvov, he closed all the Uniat places of worship and sent Archbishop Sheptitsky in chains to Russia.

The Kerensky Government was little better, so that when, in various grandiloquent proclamations, the Soviet Government washed its hands of all Churches and declared religious liberty, the Russian Catholics believed for a few months that a better day had dawned; and this belief was confirmed by Chapter 7 of the Treaty of Riga, which I give in the Appendix. But already, in 1918, a decree against religion was issued; and, on the basis of this, other anti-religious decrees were promulgated—viz., (1) on December 26, 1921, a decree establishing a censorship of sermons; (2) on January 3, 1922, a decree forbidding the teaching of religion to young persons under eighteen; (3) on February 19, 1922, a decree ordering the requisition of all Church valuables, which meant, in the case of the Catholic churches, the requisition of the Eucharistic vessels. Before this decree was issued, Archbishop Cieplak had sent out a circular to his clergy warning them that neither they nor the laity had the right to deliver up Church property or to enter into any arrangements regarding it.

The Archbishop felt that the above decrees violated the Soviet Government's own decrees establishing religious liberty; and on April 27, 1922, the Polish Government addressed, through its representative in Moscow, to Ganetzky, the deputy Commissary for Foreign Affairs, a courteous remonstrance in which it pointed out that those decrees violated Chapter 7 of the Riga Treaty. On June 22, 1922 —that is, after two months' delay—a reply was returned,

but it was so discourteous that the Polish Government refused to accept it, and sent it back exactly as Mr. R. M. Hodgson, the British representative, sent back, afterwards, Weinstein's reply to the British Government's protest against the sentence on Mgr. Budkiewicz; and, instead of doing any good, the Polish note only led to further evasions by the Bolsheviks of the same article in their peace treaty with Poland.

The decree of February 19, 1922, was applied ruthlessly to practically all the Catholic churches in Russia. Almost every Catholic church in the Moghilev diocese was plundered by the Reds—among others, the churches at Minsk, Yaroslav, Homel, Vitebsk, Krzemieniec, Jampol, Kitaigorod, Niejin, Smolensk, and Moghilev. No active resistance was offered anywhere. The congregations confined themselves to prayer, and always made special efforts to save the tabernacle from desecration; but in every case they were cleared out at the point of the bayonet. Then the Reds would set to work at smashing up the monstrances and other altar utensils which contained no precious metals. Graves were opened and profaned. In the Catholic Church at Polock, the remains of the Blessed Andrew Bobola were desecrated. Finally, most of the plundered churches were permanently closed. Meanwhile many of the priests were thrown into prison, and a cruel persecution of the laity was begun. The same procedure was followed in the Ukraine, where, out of sixty-eight churches, only sixteen were left untouched, and this solely because they contained only the simplest altar utensils, of no value to the authorities. The fifty-two other churches were ruthlessly robbed.

The Polish Legation in Moscow made frequent protests, but Ganetzky invariably replied that, though ready to enquire into any particular case that was brought to his notice, he would not consider the question as a whole, since it was an internal question, which concerned only Russia.

At the beginning of 1922 Archbishop Cieplak received an order from Krasikov, head of the Department of Religious Affairs in the Narkomjust (Commissariat of Justice), to appear before a Petrograd *juge d'instruction* to be interrogated as to his attitude towards the decree of February 19.

In a written explanation, the Archbishop quoted, in justification of his conduct, the law of Church disestablishment and the law granting religious liberty. He said, " Church property belongs to the Church, and I cannot surrender it without the permission of the Pope. In August, 1921, I asked all Catholics to help in the famine relief work. For such work we can give even our sacred vessels, but I have no right to give them without the authorization of the Vatican."

A few days after this, the *juge d'instruction* threatened Cieplak with arrest unless he issued a circular letter to his clergy, ordering them not to resist the confiscation of the Church treasures. Cieplak refused to do so, with the result that he was afterwards summoned before the *juge d'instruction* no fewer than ten times. Many priests and laymen were arrested, and requisitions were carried out with great severity. The Polish representative at Moscow lodged frequent protests against those arrests and requisitions, but without effect.

At length the Vatican took action. On June 7, 1922, Cardinal Gasparri protested against the imprisonment of Catholics and the condemnation to death of Orthodox priests. A lull followed, but in November, 1922, the persecution began again. On November 10 the Archbishop was served with a statement of accusation, which informed him that he would be tried under Articles 69 and 119 of the new Penal Code for anti-Government propaganda, for inciting Catholics to overthrow the Soviet Government, and for making use of the religious superstitions of the people in order to bring about a counter-revolution. The trial was fixed for November 17. Meanwhile the Catholics in Petrograd—not only the Polish Catholics, but those of other nationalities—began to agitate with the object of saving the Archbishop. They sent a deputation to the President of the Revolutionary Tribunal in Petrograd, asking him to postpone the trial, with the result that the trial was postponed till November 27, and again postponed in order that the accusation should be widened so as to embrace all the Catholic priests in Petrograd. At the end of November and the beginning of December, 1922, further requisitions

were made in the Catholic churches of Petrograd, despite the resistance offered by the clergy and by the laity, the majority of the latter being workmen. The Executive Committee of the Petrograd Soviet then decided to close and seal all the churches, but when the police arrived to carry this decision into effect, they found that the churches were full of priests and people, who were on their knees engaged in prayer, and who refused to leave. This it was that made the Bolsheviks broaden the accusation so as to take in all the priests of Petrograd with the exception of a French Dominican. The new accusation accused the priests of "crimes" committed as far back as the year 1918. The accused were not, however, arrested; and, as their churches were closed, they all said Mass, without permission, in private apartments.

In January, 1923, Archbishop Cieplak wrote a private statement on the subject of the charges against him to Mr. Preston, the British representative in Petrograd. In this letter the Archbishop explained what his attitude and his actions had been during the five years of Bolshevik rule, and insisted that he had had no political aims. His statement to Mr. Preston ran as follows:

"The Catholic Archbishop of Petrograd and seventeen of his priests have been summoned to appear before the Revolutionary Tribunal to answer the charge, made under Article 62 of the Criminal Code, of having formed an organization which, since 1918, has strongly and systematically resisted by force the execution of the Soviet's decrees, particularly the decree of Church disestablishment, and of having taken advantage of the superstition of the people in order to incite them to resistance. The punishment is death.

"In November, 1920, the Cheka seized a number of documents belonging to Mgr. Budkiewicz, documents concerning religious conferences of the clergy on such subjects as the marriage laws, the attitude which the Church should adopt towards Catholics who embraced Communism, etc. Having examined those documents, the Cheka seemed to attach no particular importance to them, and the matter was allowed to drop. Now they have produced these documents again, and added to them a number of accusations in connection with the recent closing of the Petrograd churches.

"But I declare that (1) no organization of the kind described above ever existed; (2) these religious conferences had a purely private, never an official, character; (3) the notes on which the accusations are based were made by one of the priests for his own information, and were not official minutes; (4) the meetings were held three or four years ago; (5) even supposing that there had been contraventions of the law, those contraventions have been wiped out by a series of amnesties declared in the interval; (6) no political question was ever discussed at those meetings, which were confined exclusively to religious matters; (7) both the priests and the Catholic population have always been loyal to the Soviet Government. In conclusion, the accusation has no legal basis, and the crime of which I am accused was never committed."

Suddenly, on the night of March 2-3, all the Catholic priests in Petrograd were summoned to appear on March 5 before the Supreme Tribunal at Moscow. No time was therefore given them for settling even the most urgent affairs, private or ecclesiastical. On March 4, in obedience to this summons, the Archbishop and all the clergy went to Moscow. Their departure from the Nicholas railway station at Petrograd was marked by scenes so touching that even people of other religious denominations were deeply moved. The train was due to leave at 7 p.m., and long before that time the square in front of the station was filled with Catholic men and women of the working classes. When the Archbishop arrived many of these wept, and when the train moved out all knelt down to receive Mgr. Cieplak's last blessing.

On March 5 the party arrived in Moscow, where the Archbishop stayed with Father Zielinsky of the Catholic Church of SS. Peter and Paul. On March 10 all were arrested by the police, and conveyed ignominiously through the principal streets in an open motor-lorry.

On learning of these occurrences Cardinal Gasparri made representations to Vorovsky, the head of the Soviet Mission in Rome; but Vorovsky assured him that the lives of none of the accused were in danger. Cardinal Mercier, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Archbishop of Upsala expressed their indignation at the arrests. Lord Curzon

instructed Mr. Hodgson, the British Trade Commissioner in Moscow, to make unofficial representations, and the British Labour members sent a protest to Trotzky. But all was in vain; and on Wednesday, March 21, the trial began, closing on March 25, after five days of crude procedure, with sentences of death on the Archbishop and Mgr. Budkiewicz.

As the details of that trial will fill practically the rest of this book, I shall confine myself here to some general observations about it and about its origin.

The iron rigidity of the Catholic community in Petrograd infuriated Zinoviev and his Reds as far back as 1918. Those Reds had found everything else yield to them. The Russian *bourgeoisie* had crumbled at their touch. Some of the Orthodox priests acted as their willing instruments. Alone, the Catholic Church remained incorruptible, invulnerable, solid as a rock. Even its laity could not be seduced. The Soviet authorities had succeeded in placing the Orthodox Churches in the control of the Orthodox laity by insisting that twenty members of each congregation should sign with the Government an agreement acknowledging that the State was the owner of the Church. These " twenties " may have been selected because they were Bolsheviks, or inclined towards Bolshevism, or so timid as to be incapable of resisting any orders the Soviet might give them; at all events, they were under the direction of the local Soviets, and during his trial, Archbishop Cieplak told the Procurator in effect that, thanks to these " twenties," the Soviet Government had succeeded in destroying the unity of the Orthodox Church.* He might have gone further and said that, through the " twenties," the Soviet Government aimed directly at the destruction of Christianity. He might have quoted in that connection paragraph 1 of a circular (No. 200, December, 1921) issued by Lunacharsky, the Commissary for Public Instruction, " On the Use of the Buildings, formerly Religious," wherein it is stated that the signature of the agreement by the " twenties " means that the congregations cannot object to their churches being used for other than religious purposes: " courses of instruction, lessons, lectures,

* See p. 202.

concerts, theatrical representations, magic-lantern entertainments, balls, discussions, and meetings." Another circular, that of December 26, 1922, obliging priests to submit their sermons to the censor, declares that "religion is a brutalization of the people. Education must be so directed as to efface from the people's minds this humiliation and this idiocy."

In view of such language as this in official documents, it is not surprising that Mgr. Cieplak hesitated about permitting his clergy to sign any agreement with the Soviet authorities in regard to their churches.

Believing that the Bolshevik *régime* would only last a few months at most, Archbishop Ropp had allowed twenty men in each of the Petrograd churches to sign, but all these signatories were devoted Catholics; and when Archbishop Cieplak told them to resign from the committees, they at once did so. As will be seen later on, Archbishop Cieplak took this step because he believed (1) that the Soviet Government might last a long time; (2) that, consequently, any agreement with it was a serious matter; (3) that a fictitious agreement was to be reprobated because it was fictitious and therefore deceptive and underhand; (4) that, according to canon law, the permission of the Holy Father should first be obtained before any agreement was entered into.

From this we see that the Archbishop was a man of great frankness, who disdained resorting to a device which most people would have considered permissible under the circumstances, and which is certainly no worse than the legal devices by means of which some quite respectable people in the West escape death duties. Mgr. Budkiewicz was equally straight, yet, as we shall see, the Procurator accused them both of craft and crookedness and "jesuitry."

This is not, however, the point which I wish to emphasize here. My point is that the Bolsheviks could not get a single Catholic layman to act as their tool. Naturally, the Soviet lost patience with this extraordinary Church, and, as we have just seen, an attempt was made in 1920 to try the Archbishop on the same charges as those whereon he and his clergy were afterwards tried and convicted. But at that time the Cheka, having examined the indictment, came to the con-

clusion apparently that there was no case to go upon. By December, 1922, however, the Reds of Petrograd had become not only impatient with Archbishop Cieplak, but mad as well, thirsty for blood; and they not only forced the Presidium of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee to refer the Cieplak case to the Investigation Department of the Supreme Revolutionary Tribunal, but made sure beforehand that the tribunal itself would convict.

The driving force in this matter was probably Zinoviev, who is all-powerful in Petrograd, and has great influence in Moscow; and, after Zinoviev, Krylenko, the Public Prosecutor of the Supreme Revolutionary Tribunal, of whom I shall have much to say later, who had been a schoolmaster until 1914, and acted for a time as Commander-in-Chief of the army after the October Revolution. Kalinin, Litvinov, Chicherin, Krassin, and other Bolshevik leaders who have to do with foreigners, were opposed to the trial, but had to give way; Kamenev, Trotzky, Bukharin, and Dzerzhinsky probably supported Zinoviev and Krylenko; but had Lenin been in good health, there would most probably have been no trial.

The English or American reader may find it difficult to see any reason for a trial at all, but, under Bolshevik "law," there certainly was a reason, as, throughout all that body of "law" there runs the implication that opposition to "the general spirit of the laws of the R.S.F.S.R. and the interests of the working masses" is criminal.*

Before closing this chapter, I should like, in fairness to the Soviet Government, to give the Bolshevik point of view with regard to the attacks on the Roman Catholic Church which I have just described. That point of view is frankly set forth in the following article, which I translated from the *Bezbozhnik* on April 3, 1923. The word "Bezbozhnik" might, by the way, be translated as "The Godless," "The Anti-Religionist," or "The Atheist"; and the newspaper which bears this name is heavily subsidized by the Soviet Government, though that Government is not in a position to buy food for the peasants who are still starving.

* See Appendix II., "Bolshevik Law: Civil and Criminal," p. 353.

The article in the *Bezbozhnik* runs as follows:—

"The struggle with Catholic clericalism . . . is severer than the struggle with the Russian Church, because the Catholic organization is stronger than the Pravoslavny, and Catholic ideology is more adaptable to the conditions of general life. Although, in structure and in dogma, the Catholic Church is medieval, its flexibility and its strength enable it to deceive the masses, already enslaved by capitalism. In direct opposition to the International of Moscow stands the International of Rome, which has its agents everywhere and its adherents in all lands. Even in Soviet Russia it has an organization, and the head of that organization is the Archbishop of Petrograd.

"The Russian Church was supported by the Tzar, the imperial bureaucracy, and the great landowners, so that once the popes [*i.e.*, the Russian Orthodox priests] lost the protection of the Emperor and the Cossacks, their ecclesiastical organization soon went to pieces. But it was otherwise with the Catholic Church. It had been persecuted by the Tzars. In Lithuania, White Russia, and the Ukraine, this persecution took a religious-nationalistic character, and only strengthened, therefore, the authority enjoyed by the priests among the people. . . . When the Bolshevik Revolution came, the Catholic priests fought against it, and they are now the agents of the Polish bourgeoisie and the preachers of bourgeois ideology among the Polish masses in Soviet Russia. . . . The Catholic priests opposed the nationalization of the schools and the separation of the schools from the churches.

"From the very beginning of the revolution, the Catholic priests fought stubbornly against the Soviet Government on the school question. In the year 1918 Sigismund Lozinsky, the Catholic Bishop of Minsk . . . told his people that, 'sooner than give way to the Bolsheviks, we will close our schools and teach the children in defiance of the law, for every concession we make only strengthens the enemy of God and of our country'; and it was in this spirit that the priests carried on an energetic and widespread propaganda among Catholic parents. This propaganda . . . led to the closing of most of the Polish schools, and, at the same time, to the creation of a whole network of illegal schools where religion was taught. This movement spread throughout all White Russia and the Ukraine, and reached even Central Russia and Petrograd itself. These schools were established in connection with churches, and the

BISHOP MANKOVSKI OF KAMENETZ-PODOLSKY.

BISHOP DUBOVSKI OF JITOMIR.

BISHOP GODLEVSKI.
Auxiliary Bishop of Jitomir.

children in them were prepared for confession and communion; but, of course, our Soviet authorities put a stop to these illegalities whenever they were informed of them. . . .

" The Vatican has recently been turning its attention to Russia. Under the pretence of helping the famine-stricken, it has sent here missionaries . . .; and some of the Russian popes have become favourably inclined towards Rome, which offers them comfort and support. No wonder that Pius XI so warmly espoused the cause of Tikhon. . . . Only recently the Catholic press announced that Alexius, the Russian Metropolitan of Kherson, favoured the union of the Catholic and the Russian Churches, and that the Russian intellectuals were drifting steadily towards Rome. The union of the Orthodox Church with the Roman Catholic International in order to form a single clerical front against the Proletarian Revolution, is like the union of the second and the second-and-a-half Internationals.

" But against this single clerical front we must oppose a united front of the Atheists and the Communists."

In another article the same paper describes the attempts of the Vatican to absorb the Russian Church.

" Through its envoys in Russia and in the Ukraine it supported the Uniat Church, which some of the Russian priests have joined, and which is making great progress. Only recently there arrived in Poland a Papal delegate, Father Genocci, a friend of the Metropolitan Sheptitsky of Lvov, the head of the Uniat rite."

The *Bezbozhnik* then goes on to give a great number of facts about the coming together of all the Christian Churches in Europe and America, against Communism. " The religious differences which exist among these Churches take a secondary place," it says, " when they all find themselves face to face with Communism."

This article is headed " The Approaching Union of the Black Internationals," and the writer seems convinced that Bolshevism will, without intending it, accomplish what no other political movement has ever done—namely, the restoration of Christian unity.

CHAPTER II

THE PRISONERS, JUDGES, AND OTHERS

THE trial opened on Wednesday, March 21, in the former Club of the Nobility, now the House of the Red Labour Unions, a large building situate near Opera Square. The hall selected for the proceedings is still known by its ancient name of the " Blue Room," a name given to it owing to the light blue colour of the walls. This large, rectangular room in the second storey had apparently been used in Tzarist times as a ball-room, for all around it, close to the ceiling, ran a frieze representing maidens dancing and naked cupids trailing wreaths of roses. It would have been a more suitable place for a dance or a light comedy than for a tragedy.

What rendered this court of justice still less in keeping with that name was the fact that during the last two nights of the trial—the heaviest nights of all—the entrance door had been thrown open, owing to the heat arising from the vast, perspiring crowd, and through that open door floated odds and ends of ragtime music, punctuated by the distant hand-clapping of an audience, for the Red Labourites had a concert-room downstairs. Sometimes this distant, ghostly applause followed immediately after a blood-curdling yelp from Krylenko, the Public Prosecutor, and seemed to come from regions even lower than the basement of that ill-omened house.

In one of the short sides of the rectangle formed by the walls of the room was the entrance door, and at the opposite end of the hall a platform had been erected. Only at the left, where the prisoners sat, did this platform touch the wall. On the right and at the back there was a narrow passage between the platform and the walls. Behind the platform was a door through which the prisoners, the judges, and the soldiers entered.

In the centre of the platform was a table covered with a bright red cloth which, on the outer side, hung down to the ground, and formed a vivid and sinister patch of colour. This table was for the three judges. Joined on to it was a continuation in the shape of a slightly lower table, also covered with a red cloth, behind which sat the clerk of the court, and, towards the end of the proceedings, two women stenographers also. From each end of the judges' table, at right angles to it, but not touching it, ran, towards the audience, another and smaller table, the one on the right for Krylenko, the Public Prosecutor, and the one on the left for the two defending advocates. Behind the latter sat the prisoners, sixteen in number—the Archbishop, fourteen priests, and one layman—in five rows, the more important prisoners—that is, the Archbishop, Mgr. Budkiewicz, Mgr. Maletzky, and another priest—being in the second row, seated just behind their lawyers, and the rest being arranged in four parallel rows behind that again, in the order of their comparative importance, all the prisoners being seated on rough benches with straight backs to support the spine: these benches had evidently come from schoolrooms.

There was not really a dock, therefore, though possibly, in the narrative which follows, I may sometimes use that term for the sake of convenience. It will be seen from the above description that the Bolshevik court-houses have a temporary and improvised appearance, like everything else in Bolshevism; like the triumphal arches which surpassed, at a distance, Napoleon's *Arc de Triomphe*, but which, being made of lath and canvas, never survived a single Russian winter; like the numberless plaster statues of Red heroes and sages which arose all over Petrograd and Moscow at the end of 1917, but which, in the spring of 1918, were all of them minus some part or other of their anatomy, sometimes an arm being missing, sometimes a leg, sometimes the head, and which, by the year 1920, had all disappeared, not because of human action, but because of the Russian climate and of their own inherent weakness.

Behind Krylenko sat Krasikov,* the head of the Depart-

* See Appendix VIII. Krasikov is the author of a dull though blasphemous book called *The Myth of Christ*.

ment of Religious Affairs in the Ministry of Justice (foreign clergymen generally called it, jokingly, the Department of Irreligious Affairs, and one of them absent-mindedly used that designation in an official letter to Krasikov, but that functionary took no notice of the slip). Along with Krasikov sat sometimes the Commissary of Justice and other officials of the same commissariat. These functionaries, whom a sense of etiquette should have led to absent themselves from the trial, frequently spoke to Krylenko, evidently prompting him; but even worse than that was the fiendish malignancy with which they frequently glared across at the prisoners seated opposite them.

The chief judge was Galkin, who is not only a judge but also a member of the Maly or Small Soviet, a body which has analogies with a committee of the Cabinet in England. In the Maly Soviet, Galkin is the representative of the Workers' and Peasants' Control, formerly known as the People's Commissariat of State Control, and he is regarded as a moderate Communist, but in his hatred of all religions he is immoderate even for a Bolshevik. When, in the early part of 1922, the Bolshevik press criticized the Patriarch's offer to contribute Church valuables to the famine relief fund, Galkin, as I have already pointed out, wrote venomous letters on the subject to the *Pravda;* and both he and Krasikov hate all forms of Christianity with a maniacal hatred. Both of them are also professors in the "Anti-Religious Seminary" which the Bolsheviks opened at Moscow on November 18, 1922.*

In appearance Galkin is a tall man of about forty-five years of age, with a broad, yellow, flabby face, a straggling, black moustache, and puffy eyes which are far apart and do not seem, somehow, to match. He uses spectacles when reading, and sometimes stutters badly when reading long documents. The tint and shape of his face indicate Oriental, probably Khirghiz, blood. He was distinguished from the other two judges by being apparently a man of some education, and by wearing a white collar; it was of the soft variety.

* See Part I, p. 15. See also Appendix VIII, "Krasikov, Galkin, and the Anti-Religious Seminary at Moscow."

At his right sat Nemtzov, the workman-judge, a plump, clean-shaven, round-faced, dusky-complexioned man of about thirty-five or forty years of age, wearing a black *rubashka* buttoned up to his throat, and a tangled mass of black hair. He only uttered a few words throughout the trial, and those words displayed an astounding ignorance of Christian practices, such ignorance as might have been shown under similar circumstances by a Neronian judge who had only heard of Christianity from ill-informed enemies of that *exitiabilis superstitio*. All three judges were, indeed, in much the same position, which leads one to conclude that, even in the twentieth century, one may find educated men who know as little about Christianity as did most of the pagan Romans in the days of Tacitus. Like much greater men than themselves, like Trajan, Antoninus Pius, and Marcus Aurelius, Lenin and Bukharin regard Christianity in Russia as "philosophically contemptible, politically subversive, and morally abominable . . . a vast secret society, with obscure aims of political and social subversion," something anti-civil and anti-social, which the State has the faculty to judge and the duty to suppress;* and perhaps "the instinctive shrinking and repugnance" of Bolshevism in the presence of this old force is due to the same cause as produced the instinctive shrinking and repugnance of pagan Rome in the presence of the same force when it was young. Pagan Rome felt that Christianity would dissolve paganism. Bolshevism feels that Christianity will dissolve Bolshevism.

The third judge, Chelyshev, who sat on Galkin's left, was supposed to be a peasant. His long, thin face wore a pinched and anxious expression, as if he were trying hard to understand what it was all about, but could never quite succeed, and was, in the meantime, afraid of opening his mouth lest he should betray his ignorance. The sole occasion on which his voice was heard in court was when he read the sentence which terminated the proceedings, and Galkin had probably asked him to do this because of his own tendency to stutter.

* To quote Matthew Arnold's words describing the attitude of certain Roman Emperors towards Christianity.

Judge Galkin showed himself to be rather an assistant prosecuting attorney than an impartial judge. He always decided against the counsel for the defence. He frequently cross-examined with the object of helping the Procurator. He invariably emphasized the points unfavourable for the defence, and frequently summed up for the prosecution the testimony which seemed incriminating. He did not always seem to be attending to what was going on. The Judges smoked cigarettes, though there were large printed notices, "Smoking Strictly Prohibited," hung round the walls. Krylenko also smoked a cigarette occasionally, but the advocates for the defence never did, nor did anybody else in the hall.

Neither the Prosecutor nor any of the judges seemed to have any knowledge of legal procedure or of the laws of evidence; consequently there was a great waste of time and an interminable discussion of matters which had nothing at all to do with the case. Questions were addressed now to one prisoner, now to another, now to the first prisoner again, and sometimes these questions were repeated, the same ground being covered over and over again, not because of any deep craft on the part of Krylenko, but because of his ignorance. No official stenographer was present until Krylenko began his summing-up for the prosecution on the fourth day of the trial, and none of the Bolshevik reporters attempted anything in the nature of a verbatim report. As will be seen from what I publish in Appendix I, the Bolshevik newspapers confined themselves exclusively to comments, save in the case of Krylenko's speech on March 24, which speech was pretty fully reported, probably by Krylenko himself, for Bolshevik judges, journalists, and advocates are all hand-in-glove with one another.

The clerk of the court, who sat on the left of the peasant-judge, was a typical Russian youth of eighteen or nineteen, a lanky stripling whose figure had not yet filled out, beardless, with a smiling, boyish face, a pair of pince-nez balanced on his nose, and a long wisp of fair hair brushed back from his forehead. When this wisp got into his eyes, as it frequently did during the proceedings, he had a habit of brushing it back impatiently with his hand. He also wore a black

rubashka, secured very tightly at the waist by a leathern belt, which did not, however, prevent the *rubashka* from working upwards, as *rubashki* generally do, until it had the appearance of being much too short, and until its wearer's waist looked like the petiole that connects the abdomen of the bee with the thorax. Like the workman-judge and the peasant-judge, he wore clumsy high-boots. His name was Bykov; and, as is usually the case with Bolshevik functionaries, he had an imposing official designation, being the "Secretary of the Judicial Collegium of the Supreme Tribunal of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic."

The Bolshevik portion of the court regarded itself as ultra-modern, Futurist, and regarded the representatives of Rome as medieval; but, as a matter of fact, the Communists looked Oriental and barbarous, while the prisoners made, collectively, an impression of Occidentalism and modernity, or, rather, suggested some ancient, fundamental institution of the West which had accommodated itself to modern conditions, and which carried with it "the grave, high, romantic sentiment of antique tradition." Somewhat the same impression would have been made in that court by a dozen Oxford dons and undergraduates in their scholastic robes, by a dozen English lawyers in wig and gown, or by a dozen members and officials of the British House of Commons.

The West was in the dock, and on the bench was something neither of the East nor of the West; something cosmopolitan in the worst sense of the word; some bizarre, suspicious mixture which no ethnologist could quite place; something vaguely reminiscent of those inhuman, machine-made men of Socialist romances dealing with the distant future; something curiously repellent. In one word, the prisoners were European gentlemen representing something lofty and definite in our scheme of civilization, while the judges were sinister adventurers of unknown antecedents, representatives of a transient aberration.

The majority of the prisoners were young or in the prime of life, and the exact similarity of the dress worn by them all (save the Exarch) gave them a sort of military homogeneity. This dress took the form of a neatly-fitting black soutane

with a cape, a row of small buttons, with very short intervals between them, traversing the front of both soutane and cape; and the impression of uniformity created by this similarity of dress was increased by their Roman collars, as well as by the fact that they were all carefully shaved and had their hair cut fairly close. The ease with which, on first coming into court, they found their places in the dock, the perfect discipline and perfect mutual understanding which they displayed, and the deference which, during the trial, they all paid to their own laws, had something trained and martial about it, something which impressed even the Communists as being very strange in their experience of trials, strange and rather disquieting.

"There in the dock," says the Bolshevik pamphlet, "was the G.H.Q. of the Roman Catholic Church in Russia, with an Archbishop and two Monsignori at its head. . . . The Catholic clergy, even in the dock, are very strict about their hierarchical order [p. 5]. . . . Each of the accused, whether he was the Archbishop or a Monsignor or a mere priest in this spiritual army, always referred to canon law" [p. 30].

It was different, as we have already seen,* at the trial of the Orthodox clergy, when a Bishop and a priest took the side of the Bolsheviks and furnished them from canon law with evidence whereon eleven priests were condemned to death.

To the Bolsheviks these tokens of an iron discipline were undoubtedly disquieting; and, indeed, the whole object of the trial was the abolition of the ecclesiastical laws and regulations which produced that discipline and gave the Church its iron solidity. Those laws were (1) the command of Christ to teach all nations, whether the civil Governments approved or not; (2) the right of the clergy to celebrate religious worship, whether the civil Governments licensed such worship or not; (3) the right of the clergy to meet together for religious discussions; and (4) the law of the Catholic Church, which gives the clergy a predominant voice in the affairs of that Church. To many Christians this latter law may seem illiberal, undemocratic, and unfair to

* See pp. 32, 50.

THE PRISONERS IN THE CIEPLAK CASE.
Palm Sunday, 1923.

the laity, but the Church on earth is the Church Militant, and must, as such, have military regulations. Such regulations mean, in time of war (and the Catholic Church is always at war), constant readiness to meet an attack, and the entrusting of absolute power to the officers. The weakening of that power by the Reformers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is regarded by Rome as ecclesiastical Bolshevism, the originator and the precursor of political Bolshevism. Without the above-mentioned laws and precautions, the Catholic Church in Russia would have gone down before the Bolsheviks like the Orthodox Church. No wonder, therefore, that the Reds wanted to annul those laws and leave the Catholic Church defenceless.

To the Bolsheviks, I repeat, those signs of an iron discipline might well seem disquieting, for they indicated that, after having crashed through many obstacles, the Soviet power had at last collided with a rock, that the new International of Lenin had joined battle with another International which is very old and has weathered many a storm. The Bolsheviks were face to face with the legions of Rome.*

When the judge entered the court, the military commandant summoned everyone, in a loud voice, to stand up in his honour. When Cieplak entered, earlier, the few Poles in court had stood up voluntarily and very courageously. I say "very courageously," for every man who rose in honour of the Archbishop knew that he was henceforward a marked man, as the court was swarming with spies of the G.P.U., one of whom I detected following me in the streets on the last night of the trial; but this fine gesture of respect continued till the end came, on Palm Sunday.

And no wonder that the Poles rose to their feet, for the great Archbishop represented on this occasion not only the Catholic Church, but all Christianity. The position he had taken up on the question of religious teaching, and on the inalienable right of religious teachers to discuss the bearing of civil laws on the laws of the Gospel, would have been

* I take no credit for having prophesied, in my *Prisoner of the Reds*, that this collision was bound to come, as it was obvious that come it must, sooner or later.

taken up under similar circumstances by the leaders of any Christian Church worthy of the name, and the magnificent protests sent to Moscow, after Cieplak's condemnation to death, by the leaders of the Protestant Churches in England and America prove that this is no mere empty phrase.

Before the Archbishop stood Antichrist, visible in the flesh. Behind him stood a mighty, invisible host, wherein every race and class of mankind was represented, from the Roman centurion to the Japanese daïmyo, from the Norman knight to the negro slave. In that host was the white-robed army of martyrs, soon to be recruited by one who stood at Cieplak's right hand. In that host marched the great doctors of the Church; writers with gifts so diverse as those of Augustine, Dante, Cervantes, More, and Pascal; the supreme masters of sacred music; the greatest painters of all time; the greatest sculptors since Pheidias adorned the Parthenon; the greatest architects since the reign of the Cæsars; the creators of modern scholarship in the widest sense; the fathers of modern thought; the founders of all the most famous Universities; great missionaries like Xavier; abbots who built monasteries in the Thebaïd and in the wilderness which is now England; ecclesiastical explorers who erected chapels where Chicago now stands, and whose successors may erect other chapels on the same spot when Chicago is as silent as Babylon; an endless array of Benedictines, Carmelites, Dominicans, Franciscans, Jesuits. No wonder that the Archbishop, accused by the half-educated Procurator of "ramming" falsehood into the heads of children, declared in his speech from the dock that he had, on the contrary, taught "that divine truth which now, for near two thousand years, has been the light of the world, has been hailed as the truth by the greatest of human intellects, and has led humanity to attain its highest development."

Even in Red Moscow there were memorials of that great army. Only a stone's-throw from that Bolshevik court stood a church dedicated to a great Christian king, St. Louis of France, and in armour, on an altar in that church, was a statue of a great Christian maiden, St. Joan of Arc. Close by stood another church dedicated to SS. Peter and Paul,

ARCHBISHOP CIEPLAK.

and in it hung a black flag whereon was embroidered in letters of gold that tremendous prophecy of Christ: "Thou art Peter, and on this rock I will build My church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it." And that it was not merely the army of a dead past which supported Archbishop Cieplak was soon proved when, at the end of the trial, protests poured in from America, Poland, Italy, France, Belgium, Ireland, Germany, England, Sweden, Brazil, the Argentine, Switzerland, Rumania, Czecho-Slovakia, Yugo-Slavia, Spain, and Portugal.

Archbishop Cieplak, the commander of Rome's Muscovite legion, is a tall, spare man, upright, grey-haired, not bald, with bushy eyebrows and a worn, wrinkled face. The last five years have aged him so much that one could hardly recognize him from the photograph taken of him before 1917, which is reproduced here. But the change was only in his face, which looked very tired at the beginning of the trial; his figure still remained as straight as a lance, his mind was still clear, and his utterance distinct.* Throughout the proceedings he wore his violet-red skull-cap, violet-red cincture, and pectoral cross; and despite all the hectoring he received at the hands of Krylenko, his manner was always dignified and courteous.

Mgr. Budkiewicz, the only one of the priests eventually executed, was a good example of the courtly and businesslike type of priest, which is as common in the Church of Rome to-day as it was in the days of Wolsey

* The Bolshevik journalists wrote of his "polished, well-chosen diction" (*Pravda*, March 24; see Appendix I), and the Bolshevik pamphlet described his speech as "sweet and smooth." All the prisoners spoke, by the way, in good Russian; but the Bolshevik pamphlet says that Mgr. Maletzky's education at a German school in Petrograd had had a bad effect on his Russian. To me, however, his Russian seemed flawless, and Bolsheviks are not the best judges of Russian, being themselves very often foreigners. Russian philologists resident in Moscow told me that, since the Bolsheviks came into power and the enormous influx of Jews into the capital began, the Russian used at public meetings has undergone a serious deterioration. One of these philologists, himself a great orator, assured me that even Trotzky's oratory is marred by a Jewish accent; and I could notice myself that Karl Radek's Russian, both written and spoken, is very distinctly that of a foreigner.

and the great abbots; and the diocese of which he had the business side of the administration included most of European Russia and all Siberia. Such priests are as necessary, of course, in the Church as are priests of the ascetic and contemplative type, and some of them, like Ambrose of Milan, Antoninus of Florence, and Gregory the Great, have been saints as well as consummate organizers and finished diplomats. "There are diversities of gifts, but the same Spirit."

Of medium height and full figure, Monsignor had the most English appearance of anyone in court, and judging by his complexion and his manner, he seemed to enjoy perfect health, together with all the ease and serenity of address which accompanies that invaluable gift. As a matter of fact, however, he suffered towards the end of his life from an internal complaint which sometimes caused him great pain, and which had probably been brought on by the food he had had to eat during the terrible winter of 1919. An English correspondent compared his appearance to that of Mr. Pickwick, and there was some superficial resemblance. Mgr. Budkiewicz had a clear, bright eye, a full, ruddy face always closely shaven, a complexion as delicate and unwrinkled as that of a child, an engaging smile, and small white hands, indicative of his aristocratic origin. Wearing a neat-fitting cassock, edged with red to denote his rank, of very fine manners and a scrupulous personal cleanliness, he might have passed for an English Roman Catholic clergyman of distinguished birth, University education, and high rank in the ecclesiastical hierarchy, or for a polished diplomat in the employment of the Secretariat of State at the Vatican. It would be hard to find a more striking contrast than that which existed between him and the slovenly, long-haired Bolsheviks on the bench and in the body of the court, or even between him and most of the old aristocrats who still live in Moscow, and whose neglected appearance testifies to the despair they feel at the shattering of the world they knew. Mgr. Budkiewicz looked like a man whose world has not been shattered or even shaken, who is as sure of his principles as ever, and as little inclined to make any concessions to the temporary insanity raging

MOŃSIGNOR BUDKIEWICZ.

around him as a British Governor of the Gold Coast would be inclined to worship a fetish and wear a loin-cloth.

My first glance at Mgr. Budkiewicz showed me clearly why the Bolsheviks became so infuriated with him that nothing but his death would satisfy them. Not only was he immovable himself, but (in the opinion of the Bolsheviks) he made others immovable. Then his manner was, for a Slav, curiously cold and impassive. In speaking, he used no gestures, and did not move his body in the slightest; but in private life he was extremely humorous.

Circumstances compelled him to restrain himself, but he conveyed, somehow, the impression of having it in him to pierce Bolshevism with a satire keen and deadly as a rapier; and it is surely one of the ironies of life that while Leninism is being dealt with almost exclusively by non-Russians who do not know much about it, or by Russians whose absence abroad has made them equally ignorant, this accomplished man, who knew Red Russia through and through, should first have been prevented by his position from telling all he knew about it, and should then have had his brains blown out by the bullet of an official assassin.

There was a note of very delicate irony in his voice when he alluded—as he did several times—to the great and glorious principles of religious liberty which the Bolshevik Government had proclaimed from the housetops in 1918, and when he remarked on one occasion that the decrees of the Soviet sometimes contradicted one another. He could have put it much more strongly, for Bolshevik legislation is a mass of contradictions, and even the statistics published officially by Soviet Government departments contain, very frequently, errors in simple addition, which it would be dangerous, however, for anyone to point out.

From such a Churchman one would naturally expect learned lectures and trenchant sermons, but the sermons which Mgr. Budkiewicz delivered every Sunday in St. Catherine's were always very simple and dwelt generally on the need for charity. Even when his lectures in St. Catherine's Hall were interrupted by non-Catholics, he always treated the interrupters with gentleness and forbearance, and the best proof I can give of his superiority

to nationalistic prejudice is the fact that, in his church of St. Catherine, he started the preaching of sermons in Lithuanian.

The following description of Mgr. Budkiewicz appears in the Bolshevik pamphlet:

"There is among Catholics a special type of drawing-room prelate, and of this type Budkiewicz is a good example. He is rosy and fat, and strikingly elegant in a well-cut cassock. He wears pince-nez, and his shining bald head and clean-shaven jowl testify to years of a quiet life and to meticulous care of his own body. . . . He has an arrogant expression and a broad face, and he looks at the judges with an ill-concealed disgust. . . . Not only the real leader and organizer of the counter-revolutionary clergy in Russia, he was at the same time a sort of Minister of Finance to this organization, which he supplied with funds. He was a statesman of the Catholic counter-revolution."

This description conveys the impression of an able but pompous aristocrat, but it is an inaccurate and unfair description, as it does not mention the fact that Mgr. Budkiewicz, a nobleman, highly educated, and fond of intellectual society, had voluntarily remained behind in Petrograd for the sake of poor workmen and their families, after all the Polish Princes, Generals, fine ladies, and "intelligentsia," as well as all the foreign diplomatists and merchants who belonged to the Catholic Church, had departed. And, indeed, during all the thirty years of his sacerdotal ministry in Petrograd, he worked mostly among the very poor, not only in the cause of religion and of charity, but also in the cause of national and social progress. By national I mean Polish, for Mgr. Budkiewicz was all his life an ardent Pole; and in the schools which he founded in Petrograd, thousands of Polish children were educated as Poles and as Catholics. Owing to their own patriotism, and to their conviction that the Russian system of education was demoralizing, the priests made no attempt to train up children as Russians.

Mgr. Budkiewicz also interested himself in the amelioration of the social, educational, and political conditions of the lower classes belonging to his own church, and most of

his co-religionists in Petrograd belonged to the lower classes. He actively supported that admirable work of popular education, the *Macierz Szkolna;* and it was owing to him that the Christian Democratic movement rose and spread with great rapidity among the members of the Polish working class in Russia. He was the patron and promoter of every Polish enterprise of a charitable nature that has been started in Russia during the last twenty years. One such enterprise, in which he took special interest, busied itself in taking Polish beggars off the Petrograd streets, and sending them into a special centre connected with his church, where their cases could be investigated and their necessities relieved.

Mgr. Budkiewicz was no narrow nationalist, as is proved by the manner in which he conducted the church of which he had charge, the church of St. Catherine. As soon as the Bolshevik Revolution took place, he inaugurated in that church weekly sermons in Russian, with the object of showing the Russian converts and other Russians that the Catholic religion was not a monopoly of the Poles. He followed this up by introducing popular devotions, such as the Litany of the Blessed Virgin in May, prayers to the Sacred Heart in June, and the Rosary in October—all in Russian; and the lead he thus gave was followed by all the other Catholic churches in Petrograd. All this activity may probably have been the result of orders received from Rome; but if those orders were distasteful to him, as possibly they were, Mgr. Budkiewicz deserves all the more credit for having obeyed them with alacrity.

To Russians interested in Catholicism he was particularly considerate, with the result that there were from three to ten conversions in his church every Sunday. Attached to that church is a great hall, where the Jesuits, during their occupancy of St. Catherine's, had collected a library of 200,000 volumes. In this hall Mgr. Budkiewicz used to give, or preside at, lectures in Russian on religious subjects every Monday evening, these lectures being delivered not only by Latin priests, but also by Catholic priests of the Eastern rite, by Orthodox priests, and by women. Sister Veronica, a convert, was one of the most popular speakers.

According to one Orthodox priest, now in London, the Polish lecturers in St. Catherine's were sometimes very tactless in their allusions to the Russian Church; but, on the other hand, several of the Orthodox theologians who have left Russia are too apt to take offence at any criticism of their Church, and several of the Orthodox laymen, now in Western Europe, are equally touchy, though when they lived in Russia, before the revolution, these particular laymen never darkened a church door.

Born in 1867, ordained in 1893, made vicar of St. Catherine's in 1908, Monsignor in 1918, Mgr. Budkiewicz was an honorary Canon of Moghilev, and belonged to the Administrative Council of the Moghilev diocese. He was one of the most eminent Catholics in Russia, and was in charge of a parish which had long been a centre of Catholic activity. During the war he was Vice-President of the Polish Relief Committee, so that he stands before us as a man who has done a very full life-work. The Bolsheviks were not long in power before they realized that this polite and gentle-mannered Monsignor was the backbone of all the legitimate resistance offered to some of their impossible decrees by the Catholic clergy of Petrograd. They therefore persecuted him so persistently that, disguised in lay clothes, he had for a time to carry on his work from a place of concealment. Then came a period of calm, but, towards the end of 1922, the Petrograd Reds lost all patience and determined to have Mgr. Budkiewicz's blood at all costs. They had their way, but, as we shall see later, they had not the satisfaction of seeing their victim falter or even lose colour when the sentence of death was passed on him.

Mgr. Maletzky—"the polite prelate Maletzky," as the Bolshevik pamphlet calls him (p. 29)—was an entirely different type of man from Mgr. Budkiewicz.

His bushy eyebrows, and the sharp way he kept looking into the body of the court, might convey the impression that he was a disciplinarian, but, as a matter of fact, he is the gentle, St. Francis of Assisi type of priest, unworldly, probably unbusinesslike, unable to say a harsh word to anyone, unable to entertain an uncharitable thought, filled with the milk of human kindness. The speech which he

delivered before sentence was passed on him shows what manner of man he is.

The Exarch Fedorov, a pure Russian, but a member of the Uniat Church, which is in communion with Rome, was declared by Krylenko to be the ablest and most dangerous man in the dock. Fedorov was in many respects the most picturesque figure in the court. A handsome, well-built man in the prime of life, with that strong, gentle, Christ-like face which is so often found among Russian peasants, with long dark hair, a noble beard, and the ample, flowing robes of a Russian ecclesiastic, he formed a striking contrast to the shaven Roman priests with their close-fitting soutanes and close-cropped hair. Although he confessed that he was the son of a Petrograd cook and the grandson of a serf, his manner was as dignified as if he had been born in the purple, and, as we shall soon see, his words were more than worthy of his manner.

The exact value of the sympathy with the lower classes so loudly proclaimed by " the Government of the poor and the oppressed " is shown by the gibes in which the Government's journalists indulged at the expense of Fedorov because his father had been a cook. " The sons of the gentry," says the Bolshevik pamphlet (p. 11), " gave tone to this trial and behaved politely, whereas the sons of peasants, mostly second-rate or third-rate figures, were audacious and obstinate." In the same pamphlet (p. 7) we are told that " Fedorov very often gave audacious replies to the Procurator."

Leonidas Fedorov entered the Imperial Theological Orthodox Academy with the intention of becoming an Orthodox priest, but a study of Vladimir Soloviev's works made him a Catholic; and he went to Rome in order to ask the advice of Pius X, who advised him to become a priest of the Oriental rite, and sent him to the Pontifical Seminary at Anagni. Having finished his studies there, he went to Constantinople, where he was ordained by an Oriental Catholic prelate. Next he went in 1918 to Lvov (Lemberg), where he re-established, under the direction of Archbishop Sheptitsky, the old Eastern Community of the Studites, whose founder and patron was St. Theodore Studites.

Fedorov himself was a member of that very austere order of monks. We next find him at the Theological Congress of Velehgrad in Moravia, where his zeal and erudition made a great impression. From Lvov he went to Kiev, where many Russians are said to have been converted by the sight of a prelate using a Slavonic rite and yet owning allegiance to the Pope. In Moscow he met with the same success; but on his way to Petrograd he so narrowly escaped massacre at the hands of the Bolsheviks that a notice of his death was published in the authoritative *Annuaire Pontifical Catholique* for 1921.

In Petrograd he formed a small Oriental parish, and took a leading part in Catholic life. He lectured frequently at St. Catherine's Hall, and often visited Moscow, where Father Abrikosov, another convert, had formed a parish. On March 1, 1921, Benedict XV named Protonotary Apostolic "his dear son, Leonidas Fedorov, regularly appointed Exarch for the Catholics of the Slav rite in Russia."

Had the Bolsheviks not been afraid of giving the trial too international and Catholic a character, there would also have been in the dock an even more picturesque figure in the person of Father Maurice Amoudru, a French monk from Petrograd, wearing the white habit of St. Dominic. Father Amoudru, who had been in Petrograd all through the terror, acted in absolute harmony with the other Catholic priests, and was guilty of counter-revolution if they were guilty; but he is still allowed to live peacefully in Petrograd, because there stands behind him a powerful State which takes no pains to conceal its contempt for the Bolsheviks, and which is consequently respected by them.

The Soviet Government proclaims *urbi et orbi* that it is no respecter of persons, but at present it takes good care to smite only those of its enemies whom it regards as weak, poor, and friendless. To conciliate America, it has frequently released American citizens whom it had declared guilty of capital offences. In 1918 it arrested Mr. Lockhart, the British Consul in Moscow, on the charge of trying to overthrow it; and, though it still maintains that Mr. Lockhart was guilty, it released him. In 1920 it allowed the Rev. Mr. North, the British chaplain at Moscow, to return

to England, though it accused him then, and still accuses him, of having committed political offences much more serious than those of which it accuses Mgr. Cieplak. In 1918 the Catholic clergy in Petrograd were asked to choose whether they would become Russian citizens and remain in Russia, or Polish citizens and leave Russia; and, in a circular letter informing his subordinates of the fateful decision which they were called upon to make, Mgr. Cieplak urged them to stay, so that they might be able to minister to the spiritual needs of the Catholics in Russia. They all decided to stay, though they must have known that, by repudiating their own nationality, they would sooner or later fall victims to a terror which is as cowardly as it is cruel.

Edward Yunevich, a White Russian from the town of Vilna, was another interesting type. He was the youngest of all the priests, being only twenty-nine years of age, and looking about nineteen. Of medium height, his figure was slender and graceful, his face smooth and boyish, and the traces of a tonsure on the crown of his blond head gave one the impression that he had only just been ordained. He smiled gently throughout the whole trial, so that it was with some surprise that the audience heard him ask, in the speech he delivered before sentence, to be excused for his nervousness. His church in Petrograd was the church of St. Stanislaus Kostka, and his own face, gentle yet very strong, reminded me of the pictures I had seen of that young Polish saint, who died while still in his adolescence, and has ever since been regarded by all Catholics as one of the patron saints of studious youth.

The highest testimonial given to Father Yunevich is given by the children of his parish, who call him "the angel priest." But despite his boyish appearance, he is an unusually resolute and accomplished man. He is one of the two Latin priests in Russia who were thought competent by Mgr. Cieplak to use both the Western and the Eastern rites, which means that he is a master of both liturgies, and is as much at home in Old Slavonic and in Russian as in Latin and in Polish. In the church of St. Stanislaus, where he was vicar, with an older priest under him, he

exhibited great energy, and was particularly tactful in his handling of Russian converts. Not only did he deliver weekly lectures on Church history and dogma in his own parish, he was also one of the best speakers at the Monday lectures for Russians in St. Catherine's Hall.

The authors of the pamphlet naturally look at Yunevich through other spectacles. They find him (p. 10)—

" A smart, nervous young priest, a Budkiewicz in miniature. . . . In his answers he referred to saints, to canon law, and even to his mamma. He was only newly ordained, and one could see that he was full of the cheap phraseology of an ecclesiastical seminary. . . . At the first inevitable collision between his faith and the revolution he sank into the mud of reaction, and made no effort to extricate himself."

Father Matulianis, whom the pamphlet curtly dismisses as " a peasant," was a Lithuanian of fifty. Beside him sat another priest whose thin lips, which he kept pressed closely together, and whose strained, fixed, ascetic look, seemed to indicate enormous will-power, but this appearance of resolution was probably due to ill-health and nervous exhaustion, for once, during the course of cross-examination, he faltered and for some moments his mind seemed unable to function. As I will show later, it was, however, a physical, and not a moral failure.

Father Stanislaus Eismont, " the fanatical vicar of St. Casimir's, who said that he would not allow *oprichniki* to touch sacred things in a Catholic church " (Bolshevik pamphlet, p. 29), was a powerfully-built young man with the plain, honest face of a farmer. The Bolshevik pamphlet (p. 11) found him " audacious and obstinate," and said that " Rutkovsky and Khvetzko, particularly the latter, who was a White Russian, belonged to the same category," being " sons of peasants." In Eismont's " head, filled with superstition, dark and gloomy thoughts were born." Elsewhere (p. 9) the same pamphlet says that—

" Eismont had a fanatical, gloomy, and spiteful face. He was a strong and reliable instrument in the hands of his spiritual leaders, but at the same time his dulness of mind was incurable. He could not disguise his detestation of the

FATHER KHODNEVICH.

FATHER LISOVSKI,
VICAR-GENERAL OF MINSK.

Imprisoned in the Butyrka, Moscow, in 1922, and still there.

FATHER AVGLO.

Ordered to appear in the dock with Mgr. Cieplak, but released and sent back to Petrograd by the Bolsheviks. Now in Petrograd.

FATHER TROIGO.

Soviet Government. . . . In his greenish eyes one could see a blind and unquenchable hate. During the search in his rooms the authorities found love letters, which he unsuccessfully tried to burn."

(This calumny was repeated by the Bolshevik newspapers, but neither those newspapers nor the Bolshevik pamphlet published those letters, which, moreover, were never once alluded to in court. Had any such letters been discovered, it is quite certain that Krylenko would have read them.)

Father Rutkovsky had a simple, kindly, very plebeian face, a face inherited, as could plainly be seen, from many generations of poor peasants. He was shy, and did not say much throughout the trial, but his reticence pleased the writers of the pamphlet as little as the fluency of Budkiewicz or Eismont, and they put him down (p. 12) as "a dull-headed fanatic, an idiot with a continual smile on his face."

Father Vassilevsky was fifty-four years of age, but looked seventy. Of him the pamphlet says (p. 9):

"In appearance he was quiet and insignificant, yet he incited his congregation to riot, and, on the occasion of his arrest, his parishioners threatened to kill the police. He called himself 'the Red Army soldier of the Pope,' and said that, 'in fighting against the decree of separation, I only did my duty as a soldier.'"

The same pamphlet says of Father Troigo that "dancing attendance on Bishops had made him a snob, an object of pity. He spoke with a voice full of fear and respect, as if he were listening to the instructions of his Bishop. He was a typical slave of the ecclesiastical aristocracy."

Another priest, Father Khodnevich, a small man, of slender build and delicate appearance, between thirty and forty years of age, with a pale, thin face, powerful glasses, and an unexpectedly strong, aggressive voice, had probably been Professor of Scholastics in the seminary, for, once during the course of the trial, he jumped up and engaged in a hot dispute about Christianity with both Krylenko and Galkin, using the method of argument employed by the schoolmen, with the result that both the judge and the Public Procurator were excessively annoyed. The Archbishop also looked annoyed, and made an impatient gesture

in the direction of his too zealous subordinate, who was evidently courting martyrdom. Apparently the policy of Mgr. Cieplak was to give no unnecessary offence to the judges, and only to hold out against them, firmly but politely, on essential matters. The Archbishop had to think of all his priests, and of the shepherdless flock he had left behind in Petrograd.

Mgr. Cieplak was right; nevertheless, I felt a great admiration for the younger priests when, again and again, they returned answers which doomed them to certain punishment, and which, perhaps, they were not called upon to make. Sometimes those answers were given in a tone so bold and joyous that the Red judges looked up in surprise. But they were blind. They saw not what those young confessors saw—the martyr's crown, the throne from which proceeded lightnings and thunderings and voices, themselves, the prisoners, standing before that throne among them that were slain for the Word of God, and for the testimony which they held.

The compilers of the Bolshevik pamphlet were also blind. All they could say about Father Khodnevich was this (p. 11): "He is a typical Jesuit. He always quotes from canon law, and starts endless discussions with the Procurator and the judges. . . . He is a disgusting spider."

Despite this adverse criticism, Father Khodnevich is an admirable character. Owing to the extent to which he has risen above all racial prejudices, to the zeal with which he has thrown himself into the work of gaining converts for Rome, and to the number of Russians whom he has personally received into the Catholic Church, he is known in Petrograd as "the Apostle of the Russians." He was one of the most popular lecturers in St. Catherine's Hall. He organized a Russian choir of young girls, almost all of them converts; and, in co-operation with Mgr. Budkiewicz, he established three branches of the St. Vincent de Paul Society—Polish, Russian, and Lettish. The Russian branch of this lay organization, whose business it is to help the poor, consisted mostly of young converts, who attended to twelve hundred hospital cases during two and a half years. As a result of this attendance, twenty of them caught typhus

and four of them died of that disease, which also swept away many of the Catholic priests in the Provinces.

As will be seen from the foregoing, the dock presented something of the catholicity of Rome, inasmuch as there were many types of face represented in it, from the aristocratic type to the plebeian type, from the militant type to the contemplative type; and those types were not all Polish, for among the prisoners were Lithuanians, Russians, and White Russians, as well as Poles. But, different as they were, they had all something in common, as soldiers in a famous battalion come to have a certain expression in common. That something was the indefinable stamp which Rome imprints on the countenances of all her ecclesiastics.

In the spring of 1923, a non-Catholic Russian, Vladimir Poliakov, went to the city of Rome " to look for the Roman Eagles," and he afterwards described in the *Daily Telegraph* how, having sought them in vain among the Italian soldiers and administrators and noblemen, he found them at last among the rulers of the Church, the red-hatted Cardinals, the heads of religious orders, the Bishops from all over the world, most of them foreign citizens of the new Rome as St. Paul was a citizen of the old Rome. These he discovered to be the heirs of the Cæsars, the continuers of the great imperial tradition in a new form even more powerful and impressive than the old.

One face only did not bear the stamp of Rome; it was the youthful face of the Lithuanian boy James Sharnas, a layman who occupied, as a rule, throughout the trial, the outside end of the last bench in the dock. But that face also was not an ordinary one; it was lighted up by the glow of that supernatural fire which one sees on the faces of great musicians, for Sharnas was a student of music in the institution where Chaïkovsky also studied, the Petrograd Conservatory. His features were as refined and delicate as those of a girl; his long black hair was rumpled carelessly over a lofty forehead, white as marble; his head was always thrown back; and his bright eyes seemed fixed, not on anything in that Red court, but on some celestial vision beyond.

The pamphlet treats Sharnas with comparative mildness,

probably because he was, as it points out, " the only representative of the proletariat in the dock." Elsewhere (p. 12) it adds that, " in the hope that he was not completely gangrened with hatred towards the Soviet Government, and with religious stupidity, the court refrained from holding him responsible."

Of the many blunders which the Bolsheviks committed in connection with this trial, their dragging of Sharnas into it was one of the worst. He was accused of having obstructed Red militiamen in the execution of their duty; in other words, of having spoken abusively to agents of the Soviet Government who were clearing the congregation out of a church. What he did do—and his statement on the subject carried conviction—was to remonstrate with a soldier who was maltreating an old crippled woman unable to leave the church rapidly enough.

So much for the prisoners; but, before taking leave of them for the moment, I should like to say a word of how they bore themselves under the ordeal to which they were exposed. The Bolshevik pamphlet about the trial says that they bore themselves badly; that, instead of hurling defiance at the judges and the Soviet Government, they tried to explain that they were law-abiding citizens. In my opinion, they were quite right in maintaining that they had no intention of opposing the civil Government, as such, so long as it did not ask them to do anything of which their consciences disapproved; and the same pamphlet has to admit that, where it was a question of acting in opposition to the dictates of their religion, they were all firm as a rock. For me and for many others in court that firmness was a source of the greatest edification. It reassured my faith in human nature to see that in these days of disillusion, depression, and doubt, when patriotism has become a madness, and philanthropy a profession, and religion a sickly sentiment, and the springs of every generous emotion are drying up, men could rise to such heights for an ideal. Never once did they falter. Not an inch did they yield. No Christian martyrs ever bore themselves more nobly before the tribunal of Nero.

Now for the lawyers who defended them. Their principal

advocate, Bobrishchev-Pushkin, was a tall, noble-looking old man whose long white beard covered his breast like a shield, but who was so painfully lame in one leg that, even with the aid of a stick, he found it very difficult to get about, and had always to be assisted on and off the platform. He belonged to the Orthodox Church, and as a lawyer under the old *régime* he had enjoyed a high reputation in Moscow for fearlessness, integrity, and ability. Assisting him was another Russian lawyer, also a member of the Orthodox Church. His name was Kommodov. He was a large, plump young man with a slight beard and moustache, and, in deference probably to Bolshevik unconventionality, he wore a *rubashka*, without collar or tie, though his chief was dressed in correct black clothes of Western fashion, with white collar and cuffs. Both these lawyers deserve credit for having undertaken the defence in this case, for though the Bolsheviks do not object to their victims being defended by counsel, they sometimes make it hot afterwards for the counsel. When Kommodov went to Petrograd, a few weeks before the trial, in order to see the Archbishop, he was arrested at the Petrograd railway station.

The result of this attitude of the Bolsheviks towards the defence was that while Krylenko, the Public Prosecutor, was violent and overbearing, Bobrishchev-Pushkin and Kommodov were apologetic and mild in the cross-examination of hostile witnesses, and were unable to produce any friendly witnesses at all.

Krylenko, a man of about forty-five years of age, is an extreme Red, insatiable for blood, and with no more idea of justice than Ghengiz Khan; but, to look at, he is nothing out of the ordinary, and might stroll down Piccadilly in the clothes he wore at the trial without exciting any attention. Of medium height and light build, he has a quick, decisive manner, and, when he likes, a pleasant smile. In face and general appearance he somewhat resembles Mr. H. G. Wells. His features are regular. He wears a small moustache, rather military in cut, probably because, after the October Revolution, he commanded for a short time the Red Army; and his hair is turning grey. His

favourite attitude, when questioning a prisoner, is to stand upright behind his table, his head thrown back, his chin tilted up, and an aggressive, cruel, tense, sneering expression in all his lineaments. He wore, at the trial, a grey suit, with a soft, white collar, and a pair of shoes which, to judge by his mincing gait, were too small for him.

As for the audience, it was nearly all Communist. On one occasion, indeed, the officer giving out tickets downstairs proclaimed that he would first admit those having cards of membership in Communist organizations, and would only admit non-Communists afterwards—if there was room. Striplings belonging to the League of Youth and to Polish Bolshevik organizations* were encouraged to attend the court, as were also a score of Red Poles who had just been exchanged by Warsaw for a score of White Poles under sentence of imprisonment in Moscow. Not content with attending the trial and gloating hideously over the tragic position of the prisoners, these Red Poles held, outside, a meeting which, by a large majority, called on the Soviet Government to execute the Archbishop and all his priests; and the Bolshevik newspapers triumphantly reported this hole-and-corner meeting of cut-throats, not one of whom probably was a Pole by race, as a public meeting of the whole Polish community.

Poland is to be congratulated on having got rid of these degenerate renegades with no nationality, no morals, no religion, no honour; but the decent Russian people are to be sympathized with on their country being thus converted into a cesspool for all the crime and bitterness and obliquity of the human species.

One of these so-called Poles was seated in front of me on the last day of the trial, and I shall never forget his unwashed, unshaven, bestial-looking visage. During all the time the prisoners were pleading for their lives, that nightmare face was set in a perpetual grin, with mouth open and one yellow tusk projecting from the upper jaw. Worst of all, it swung round at frequent intervals and fixed me with

* Organizations formed by Polish Reds, mostly Hebrews, who had been expelled from Poland or exchanged for Poles held in captivity by the Soviet Government.

little, sunken, bloodshot eyes, as if imploring me to laugh also. I felt more inclined "to get home" what boxers call "a hard smash to the head"; and I think that if I had been imprudent enough to do so, I would have knocked the head off, for it was not very securely fastened. I was very angry, and at school I had been celebrated for the strength of my blows from the shoulder.

Many of the Communists present were mere boys. I entered into conversation with some of them, and found that they all belonged to various Bolshevik schools and organizations, and had apparently been ordered to attend the trial in order to produce the proper atmosphere in court. One of them, a boy of about sixteen, had been a carrier of secret messages for the Reds in Siberia when Admiral Kolchak ruled there, and he told me appalling stories of the cruelties inflicted on some villages by Kolchak's punitive expeditions. He himself had been beaten and left for dead on one occasion, and he showed me terrible scars all over his head. He also told me, however—and I afterwards heard it confirmed from other sources—that Kolchak had met his end with a bravery which won for him the respect even of his executioners. I did not think it necessary to tell this boy that, at the very time he was acting in Omsk as a juvenile agent of the Reds, I was also in Omsk as a British officer fighting the Reds.

On another occasion I entered into conversation with a gentle, ragged, and half-starved youth of eighteen or nineteen, who informed me (rather imprudently, I thought, for he did not know who I was) that he was a deacon of the Catholic Church. In other words, he was one of those young men who are now studying for the priesthood in Moscow under conditions which must approximate closely to the conditions under which the studies of candidates for the Christian priesthood were carried on at Rome in the time of Marcus Aurelius. These students can only study in the evening and at night, for by day they are employees in Soviet offices or factories, or perhaps tailors, shop-boys, or unskilled labourers. They live together and pray together, but they must needs pray cautiously, for the organization which they form is in the highest degree

illegal, and everywhere in Moscow there are sharp ears listening for the sound of prayer. How they manage to do any work is beyond my comprehension, for they lack books, candles, fuel, and food; but the world is unlikely to get much information on this subject, as these neophytes do not advertise.

There were also in court several specimens of those curious cranks whom Bolshevism seems to attract in every part of the world. One of them was a small, thin, insignificant-looking man, clad from head to foot in tight, black velvet, with a shaven upper lip, an Abraham-Lincoln beard, and (of course) long hair.

There were many Hebrew faces. While the Procurator was demanding six lives, a Jewess walked slowly down the hall from one of the front seats, her face wreathed in smiles. She was a particularly repulsive-looking elderly woman in a low-necked, white dress, and, as she swept past, she nodded and winked at friends on each side of her, who nodded pleasantly in return. About the same time two Polish women, overcome by the ferocious bellowing of Krylenko, left the court in tears. Nearly a tenth of the audience was Polish; one could see that by the moisture in their eyes. Most of these Poles were women of the lower classes, emaciated, poverty-stricken, and very badly dressed; and I have never in my life seen anything more touching than their unsuccessful attempts at the close of each sitting to present the prisoners with the little offerings of eggs, bread, butter, and milk which they had smuggled into court under their shawls.

A good many of the women present were Reds; one could see that not only by their attitude towards the prisoners, but also by their short hair and their rich dresses. In the trial itself they were horribly interested, in the same way as Roman ladies of a bad type would have been interested in watching Christians being thrown to the lions in the Coliseum sixteen hundred years ago.

These prosperous women of what can only be described as the Bolshevik upper classes wore low-necked dresses and jewellery; and at the terrible end of the trial, when one could almost hear the Angel of Death beating his wings in

that hushed and crowded court, they scrutinized the faces of the condemned men through their opera-glasses as hungrily and insistently as they would have scrutinized the faces of great actors on the stage. During the bloody saturnalia which marked the beginning of the Bolshevik Revolution, loose women made themselves prominent by the persistency with which (cigarette in mouth) they attended tortures and executions, and by acting very often as judges. "Here," I said to myself, "are those same women, adorned with the dresses and the jewellery of their victims, well fed, holding comfortable positions as superintendents of Bolshevik schools or orphanages, but ten times more dangerous to the community than they were before."

It was not only the Communist women, however, who seemed to enjoy the trial; the Communist men and boys also seemed to enjoy it, and they showed their satisfaction by smiling pleasantly every time that things took a turn for the worse so far as the prisoners were concerned. When the proceedings dragged, the Bolsheviks in the audience became distinctly bored; but they cheered up visibly when Krylenko's yells for blood began again. It was a clear case of blood-lust such as was frequently exhibited by the populace of imperial and pagan Rome at the gladiatorial combats. The audience actually applauded when Krylenko made his second and most frightful demand for the lives of six prisoners, and Galkin seemed rather pleased than otherwise at this demonstration; he certainly made no attempt to stop it. But, half an hour later, when some Poles clapped their hands in approval of Bobrishchev-Pushkin's moving appeal for mercy, Galkin, his tawny face black with rage, threatened furiously to have the room cleared.

It was on the day after this that the military officer who gave out the permits tried to exclude non-Communists by saying that those who exhibited cards of membership in the Bolshevik Party would be admitted first.*

Throughout the trial, the leers and laughs and observations of the Communists in the audience were to the last degree disgusting, yet these are the people who, when they

* I give, in Appendix VI, some information as to how entrance to the court was obtained.

were the under-dogs, tried to harrow the great heart of America by pathetic accounts of Tzarist impoliteness towards terrorist "heroines" who had merely murdered policemen. These are the people who even now appeal to the sentimentalists among us in favour of poor, dear Bolsheviks in Italian or American prisons. They seem convinced that we, the Western peoples, are suffering from softening of the brain; that is the only possible explanation of their conduct.

To say a few words about the general aspect of the case: (1) This trial proved clearly that the Bolshevik Government is determined to destroy all religion. (2) All members of the court and all the witnesses were members of the Communist Party; in fact, the judge asked each witness if he belonged to the Communist Party, and they all replied in the affirmative. (3) There were no witnesses for the defence.

To a British spectator there was something very unfair about the procedure. Here were men brought into court on a capital charge which there was no proper evidence to support, in order that they might, under cross-examination and out of fidelity to truth and to their religion, be made to incriminate themselves. "The evidence of the accused," exclaims the Bolshevik pamphlet joyfully, "provided rich material, which greatly strengthened the statement of accusation." Krylenko must, despite his name, be a descendant of that High Priest who, thinking he had forced Christ to place Himself in the clutches of the Jewish law, rent his clothes, saying, "He hath spoken blasphemy; what further need have we of witnesses?"

The prosecution confined itself to proving the existence of a certain state of mind in the prisoners—namely, a dislike for the Soviet Government. It was really on this charge that the prisoners were convicted. The charges of obstructing Soviet officials in the discharge of their duty, and of failing to comply promptly with the law of separation and with the edict regarding the Church valuables, were only made to prove the existence of this state of mind. At the very outset the defence tried to have the charges of obstruction, etc., taken separately; but Krylenko objected to this, and the judges upheld his objection. Under this

system of "justice," 90 per cent. of the people of Russia, and certainly 99 per cent. of the foreigners there, could be condemned to death to-morrow. There was a great deal of oratory, but, as there was no jury, and as it was clear from the beginning that the three judges had decided to condemn, this oratory was absolutely superfluous. The saying of Macaulay about the State trials of Henry VIII's time, that they were "murder preceded by mummery," applies perfectly to the Cieplak trial.

During his speech to the court on March 24, Krylenko disclosed, in a moment of excitement, the real reason for this prosecution. As reported in the Bolshevik pamphlet which I translate in the Appendix, he said:

"The power of this organization [*i.e.*, the Catholic Church] is obvious. In the year 1922 it had stupefied and subjugated to its will hundreds of thousands of workmen, and had forced the agents of the Soviet Government to make many concessions to it." Elsewhere in the same speech, after having declared—I do not know with what truth—that the Pope had anathematized the Paris Commune of 1871, Krylenko said that "towards a political organization [*i.e.*, the Catholic Church, which he insisted on regarding as a political organization] with such traditions, the Soviet Government has strong reason for being particularly careful."

The Bolsheviks would not be alarmed by intellectuals going against them, or peasants going against them, or small colonies of foreign Protestants going against them; but real workmen—not sham workmen like themselves—that was a terrible danger which frightened the Soviet Government extremely, and led it to act with all that violence, illegality, and panic which we would naturally expect from a small band of adventurers placed by the merest chance in control of a vast empire, and really in as desperate a position now and throughout all the last five years as Hernando Cortes was in during the darkest period of his Mexican adventure. That danger could not be obviated by the ordinary methods of justice; a fair trial might have led to a collapse such as shook the power of King James II when he tried the seven Bishops; it could only be obviated by terrorism, by in-

justice, naked and unashamed. Indeed, Krylenko made it clear on many occasions throughout the trial that his principal object in pressing for a conviction was to prevent Orthodox priests and Roman Catholic priests from following the example of Archbishop Cieplak. The last words of his final speech were (according to the Bolshevik pamphlet): "We should act so that others will not be tempted. If others will see that such acts are not punished, they will do the same."

Krylenko and Galkin and the Soviet Government (for they were all in the same boat) were acting, in other words, on the principle of terror, the only principle that Bolshevik jurisprudence knows, a principle based on the indisputable fact that a small minority like the Bolsheviks can only rule Russia by frightfulness, which aims at paralyzing possible enemies with fear, and which is not at all concerned with mere justice.

Incidentally, Krylenko's speeches, and indeed the whole prosecution, constitute, perhaps, the greatest testimonial that the Catholic Church has received during the last six hundred years.

As for the indictment, I shall give it in the next chapter without comment, for comment would be superfluous. I might direct attention, however, to one surprising fact which it discloses—namely, the extraordinary moderation with which the priests wrote about Bolshevism, and the care with which they refrained from political criticism of the atrocity which calls itself the Government of Russia. The Bolsheviks had seized all the archives, notebooks, ecclesiastical documents, and private letters of those priests; and their production of Father Yunevich's letter in court showed that they opened letters entrusted to their own post. They had confiscated Mgr. Budkiewicz's reports of all the clerical conferences which he had attended during five years, reports which that priest had written down for his private use, owing to the defective memory from which he certainly suffered (and defective memory, I may say, is a common complaint among those who have been through the Red Terror). Since 1917 they had their spies watching these priests. They probably kept in the parochial houses

bogus converts, pretended victims of the Cheka. They probably arrested servants and friends of the priests in order to force some of them to tell all they knew, and others to act as provocative agents. Yet the result of all this colossal activity was the ludicrous " statement of accusation "!

Krylenko was purple with indignation because one of the priests had described the Bolshevik doctrine as " a plague "; but that description was perfectly accurate; no such plague as Bolshevism has ever appeared in Europe. Krylenko repeated again and again, with rage in his voice and gestures, Archbishop Ropp's expression of opinion that Bolshevism was a passing phase, and that ordinary, civilized government would soon return to Russia; but there was not a statesman in Europe at the time who did not think likewise, and the implication that Bolshevism is an extraordinary and an uncivilized form of government is perfectly justified.

The Bolsheviks know quite well that were they to seize, in the same way, the records of any foreign mission, whether a diplomatic, a trade, or a relief mission, or the private notes of any honest foreigner, whether correspondent, clergyman, merchant, or even concessionaire, they would find in those notes and records abundant and very frank reference to their lies, dishonesty, hypocrisy, espionage, savagery, and murders; yet the Catholic priests lived in Russia throughout the Terror, whereas most of the foreigners in question arrived after the Reds had become comparatively respectable.

That precious document, the Statement of Accusation, tells at great length and in diffuse, ungrammatical language a ludicrous story of how the priests who served a small foreign community in the heart of the great, hostile city of Petrograd treated with impoliteness Government agents who had behind them an army of 40,000 men. If the reader was able, as I was, to see those agents in court, he would not be surprised that they were received without enthusiasm, for they looked so disreputable that in any other country the very appearance of such derelicts at the door of a vicarage or a counting-house or a workman's cottage would have been a signal for the person on whom they called to

send instantly for the police, and to keep his hand on his watch-pocket till the police came. The Bolsheviks try to counteract the appearance of their official hooligans by giving them titles a yard long and inflicting heavy sentences on those who treat them with disrespect. Apologists for the Reds will say that these plenipotentiaries are, after all, fit representatives of what M. Chicherin calls " the Government of the poor and oppressed." With this view I am in cordial agreement. The specimens I saw were certainly fit representatives of the Soviet power. They looked perfect jail-birds. Moreover, their youthfulness and inexperience betrayed one great weakness in the Bolshevik *régime*—its lack of competent men.

The military display throughout the trial might very well have been dispensed with, as there was not the slightest fear of the prisoners running away or of their being rescued. Four soldiers stood to attention with fixed bayonets one at each of the four corners of the dock, and were relieved with great formality every hour. The relieving sentries filed in with great solemnity under the guidance of a captain, and, in accordance with the custom which prevailed in the old Tzarist army, each soldier on guard whispered something into the ear of the man who relieved him. It was a routine instruction that he was not to let anyone approach the prisoners or hand anything to them, and that he must not permit any member of the audience to approach within three paces of him. Those unfortunate soldiers stood to attention in a very strained attitude for an hour at a time. This attitude was part of the old Tzarist drill; and, if long continued, it is liable to injure the heart, for which reason no English or American officer would make his men stand to attention in such a way for more than a quarter of an hour at a stretch.

In addition to these sentries, half a dozen other soldiers were generally to be seen in the vicinity of the dock, and one or two officers were always at hand. One, the commandant, stood at a table below the daïs on which the court sat. He evidently had charge of all the military arrangements, and he also carried documents to and fro between the lawyers and the witnesses. Half-way down the hall stood

a sentry, whose duty it was to keep back the people who had not got tickets for the upper and more privileged part of the hall. This soldier was armed with a revolver, and, when he was relieved, he always handed his revolver to the man who relieved him. Besides, there were two armed sentries at the door, two other armed sentries at the foot of the stairs leading to the court-room, and a number of others still further down. In America or England two or three unarmed policemen would suffice, but in Soviet Russia, which is supposed to be anti-militarist and to detest all martial display, there is more sabre-clanking than one would see in any court of justice anywhere.

Among the audience there were many soldiers, all very Red apparently; and never in any other country had I seen privates take such interest in a religious or political trial, because no other Government takes such pains over propaganda amongst its own armed supporters. Some of those soldiers were of Jewish type, but the majority seemed to be Russians, and all of them were unusually young; they belonged, apparently, to the generation which reached maturity, neglected and unheeded, during the preoccupations of the war and the revolution.

In the next chapter I give the " Statement of Accusation " which was read out on the first day of the trial.

CHAPTER III

THE STATEMENT OF ACCUSATION

(Case No. 34, in which Citizen Cieplak and others are charged with crimes punishable under Articles 63 and 119, and Citizen Sharnas under Article 77, of the Criminal Code.)

The October Revolution resulted in the complete emancipation of the working classes from the yoke of capitalism—from the power of the landowners and capitalists. It destroyed all the political forms of domination possessed by these classes over the workers. But it failed to suppress as thoroughly and as easily their intellectual and moral forms of pressure—the influence of the ideas of these classes upon the conscience of the masses. The revolution failed, especially, to destroy the influence which the dominant classes exercised by means of the Church, regarded as a social organization for the special benefit of the exploiting classes and as a special instrument for the exploitation of the workers. The clergy of all denominations belonged by reason of their special status to the same class of capitalists and landowners; it was therefore inevitable that they should view the October Revolution in the same light as did the others of this class; they saw in it something wholly hostile.

The sequestration of landed property had deprived them, as it had deprived the territorial aristocracy, of their former economic power; like them, they found themselves cast out of the position to which they had been accustomed as members of a privileged political caste; nevertheless, they kept in their hands a portion—considerably diminished, it is true—of the influence which they had wielded as ministers of religion, and they set about to take advantage of the power and influence that remained to them in order to win back their former dominant position and to combat the Soviet Government. And there was one way in which the Soviet Government actually facilitated these designs; for, taking into consideration the pressure of age-long religious prejudices on the conscience of the working classes, prejudices which it was impossible to remove or destroy by physical force, the Government decided to combat this state of religious servitude, not by coercion, but by propaganda of Soviet principles and by demonstrating to the people the frauds practised on them by the clergy wherever such frauds could be brought to light, as, for example, by the opening of reliquaries.

In pursuance of this policy full liberty of propaganda, both religious and anti-religious, was proclaimed in the Constitution, and the Soviet Government laid on the clergy of all denominations one obligation only—honest, steady, and exact obedience to those laws of the Soviet Government by which, in virtue of its competence as a sovereign power, it regulated the relation of the Church to the State.

By the decree of January 23, 1918, on the separation of Church and State and of the schools from the Church, and by subsequent decrees and orders concerning the opening of reliquaries and the removal of valuables from the churches (February 23, 1922), the Soviet Government ordered:

(*a*) The immediate transfer of all Church property to the State.

(*b*) The cession of the same property, including the churches and other buildings belonging to the Church, to committees of the faithful under conditions laid down by the Soviet Government.

(*c*) The termination of the position of privilege enjoyed by certain denominations and the prohibition on principle of religious instruction in the schools.

(*d*) The termination of the official status of the Church in the execution of civil documents (*e.g.*, baptism and marriages).

(*e*) The making of exact inventories of Church valuables and the delivery of those valuables to the agents of the Soviet Government for the relief of famine in time of need.

The execution of these orders was consequently a legal obligation.

The Government foresaw that former priests would be sure to use their influence over the laity in the direction of civil strife and secret political agitation; it therefore proclaimed beforehand that all action of this nature would be reckoned criminal, and by a special article, No. 119, of the Criminal Code it forbade the use of the religious prejudices [of the people] for the destruction of the Soviet power or for opposition to its orders and demands. From this standpoint any religious propaganda undertaken by a priest with the object of arousing among the working classes any anti-Soviet or anti-Government agitation, or even feeling, was denounced as a counter-revolutionary crime punishable by law. Thenceforward there was only one legal line of action open to the priests—namely, (*a*) the execution without protest of the laws, and of such regulations as the agents of the Government should frame on the basis of those laws, and (*b*) the elimination from the sphere of their religious activities of all suspicion of political action or of criticism of the actions of the Government or of its laws. Any other interpretation allowing greater liberty of action than is here laid down must be reckoned a crime. In order to prevent crimes of this description the organs of political intelligence, the V.Ch.K. and later on the

G.P.U. [*i.e.*, the All-Russian Extraordinary Commission and the State Political Department], were obliged to carry out the measures prescribed by law no less against ecclesiastics than against any other citizens without exception.

In April, 1920, in the city of Petrograd, the officials of the V.Ch.K. [the All-Russian Extraordinary Commission] made a search in the manner thus prescribed at the house of Stanislaus Antonovich Pussevich; there they found rough drafts of the minutes of the conferences of the Roman Catholic clergy which had been held at various places in the city of Petrograd between December 18, 1918, and April 6, 1920. These minutes, which were written in Polish, were only unofficial drafts; from their contents it appears that at these conferences of the Roman Catholic clergy official minutes were drawn up, for at most of these meetings the minutes of the preceding conference were read and confirmed. However, it is possible, even from these rough drafts, to draw conclusions as to the object of these conferences and the persons who attended them. The following were present: Edward Ropp [Archbishop of Moghilev], John Cieplak [Archbishop (then Bishop) of Moscow], Mgr. Anthony Maletzky and Mgr. Constantine Budkiewicz, the priests Anthony Vassilevsky, Yodovalkis, Edward Yunevich, Theophilus Matulianis, John Troigo, Leonidas Fedorov, Lucius Khvetzko, Ivitzky, Baltrushis, Peter Yanukovich, Stanislaus Eismont, Paul Khodnevich, Dominic Ivanov, Chaevsky, Barkovsky, Smovsky, etc. These draft minutes refer to thirteen conferences of the following dates: December 18, 1918, March 17, 1919, March 27, 1919, April 8, 1919, April 30, 1919, January 8, 1920, January 23, 1920, January 30, 1920, February 11, 1920, February 18, 1920, February 26, 1920, April 6, 1920, and April 7, 1920. Besides these draft minutes, there were found on the same occasion documents which illustrate the activities of the Roman Catholic clergy at that time. Among these documents are the following: "An Historical Memorandum on the Separation of Church and State in Bolshevik Russia," circular letters by the Archbishops Ropp and Cieplak, a pastoral letter of the Archbishops, *The Moghilev Diocesan Chronicle*, the letter of Archbishop Cieplak to Catholic parents of the diocese of Moghilev, etc.

The contents of all these documents throw a sufficiently clear light on the attitude of the Roman Catholic clergy towards the Soviet Government, and particularly towards the decree of the Council of People's Commissars, dated February 23, 1918, on the separation of Church and State, and of the schools from the Church, and, again, towards the regulations for giving effect to this decree which were published in a supplement to it on August 24 of the same year by the People's Commissariat for Justice. The Roman Catholic clergy, having adopted an openly hostile attitude towards the Government of Workers and Peasants, immediately made it their principal endeavour to

oppose the execution of these decrees. The clergy protested chiefly against those articles of the decree which destroyed the economic power of the Church, and took from it the means necessary for retaining and strengthening its hold over the workers—those, namely, which took the administration of Church property out of the hands of the clergy and transferred it to the people, and those which forbade the clergy of all denominations to teach their doctrines in the schools. In the course of these conferences the Roman Catholic clergy discussed all these questions in detail, and the plan of action to be adopted under the existing circumstances. They compared the dogmas of their religion with the decrees of the Government, concluded that they could not accept the decrees, and worked out methods of combat and resistance. The line of conduct determined upon by the clergy consisted in impressing upon the consciences of the faithful the impossibility of complying with the orders of the Government concerning the taking-over of the churches [by the councils of twenty]. This was stigmatized as "the profanation of the rights of the Church," and the Catholic laity were formally forbidden to be parties to such arrangements. Besides these prohibitions, the clergy at their conferences worked out various preventive measures, one of which was to work upon the consciences of the faithful by combating Communist propaganda; but this action was not to take the form of purely religious propaganda, for which full liberty was decreed by the Constitution; it was to consist rather in the terrorization of hesitating and bewildered Catholics by threats of excommunication against any who should join the Communist Party. For instance, at the conference of January 8, 1920, the priest Khvetzko raised the question of Catholics belonging to the Communist Party, and after a discussion a resolution was passed "that it is impossible for Catholics to belong to the Communist Party." It was also decided to buy Bolshevik publications in order to be able to explain to Catholics the real aims of the Bolsheviks and to offer from the pulpit an antidote to the "Bolshevik poison." It was on this occasion that the Bishop [*i.e.*, Archbishop Ropp] directed the priest Ivitzky to draw up a memorandum on Communism to be read at the next conference. Accordingly, at the conference of January 23, 1920, the priest Ivitzky read the memorandum on the attitude of the Church towards Communism, in which the author was most emphatic that persons asking permission to join the Communist Party should be solemnly warned of the prohibition against joining that party and of the consequences of so doing. Moreover, priests should at every opportunity explain to the faithful the dangers which threaten them.

The situation described above and the line of action adopted by the clergy shows clearly that for them the purely religious question was closely bound up with plans for a political cam-

paign, in which religious propaganda was simply a means. The subsequent activities of these same persons, as revealed in the documents seized, have fully confirmed these first impressions. From the discussion of general principles the members of the conferences passed on to concert measures for creating a widespread and well-disciplined politico-social organization imbued with an anti-Soviet spirit. At the conference of March 27, 1919, the rules to be laid down for the parochial committees in the diocese of Moghilev were discussed, and as a result of this meeting there appeared in the newspaper, entitled *The Moghilev Diocesan Chronicle*, a letter by Archbishop Ropp dated April 2, 1919, in which he pointed out the necessity of forming parochial committees to deal with various ecclesiastical matters, including the following: (1) The custody of all Church property shown on the inventories; (2) the protection of the churches and valuables appertaining thereto against anti-religious forces and persecution and spoliation by the powers-that-be. In the event of the Government demanding the signature of the agreements for the use of Church valuables, it was proposed to sign the same while making every endeavour to exclude obnoxious conditions. In order to secure uniformity of action on the part of separate committees, the organization of defensive measures, and the support of the central diocesan administration, each parochial committee was to elect two members to serve on the Archbishop's central committee. This central committee was to direct and control the action of the parochial committees. This circular letter of Archbishop Ropp's was the basis on which the schemes for the working of the parochial committees and central committee in Petrograd and the neighbourhood were constructed, while it was explained that these committees, both parochial and central, not being canonical, but merely called into being under stress of circumstances, were to be provisional institutions meant to last only during the revolution and until the establishment of stable law and order in Russia (.....). At the conference of February 18, 1920, it was decided in the course of the discussion that the object of the central committee was to co-ordinate the work of the parochial committees for the defence of the churches against persecution. At the same conference, while the question of the committees was being discussed, it was decided that it was unnecessary to lay down detailed regulations for the central committee or for the parochial committees. Archbishop Cieplak then brought forward his scheme for the further work of the parochial committees under the guidance of the parish priest; their objects should be " to make the parishioners acquainted with the actual state of affairs in order to pass from the defensive to the offensive, to obtain freedom for religious instruction in the school buildings, and to remove obstacles put in the way of the performance of religious duties." It was, moreover, decided at the same conference " to

collect evidence concerning abuses on the part of the department for Polish education, to try to organize a protest of parents against the arbitrary actions of Polish Communists, and if these measures met with no success, then parents should be laid under the obligation of withdrawing their children from [Soviet] schools and institutions."

The change of tactics from the defensive to the offensive was subsequently proposed by the priest Budkiewicz in a document written in his hand and entitled "The Question of Signing the Agreement under Existing Conditions," in which the following passages occur: "In ordaining that it was permissible to sign, with certain reservations, the so-called agreements or contracts dealing with the churches and Church property, the Archbishop [Ropp] was acting on the assumption that the existing Government would be short-lived, and that consequently the results of the contracts would not have time to take effect." "Probably," writes Budkiewicz, "Monsignor would have decided otherwise if he had foreseen the prolonged duration of Bolshevik power in Russia. As, however, Bolshevism is still in power, and no one knows how long it may last, we have no legal sanction for concluding the contracts without the express permission of the Holy See, except the fictitious agreements signed by our parishioners. . . . We are all sufficiently acquainted with the reasons against signing. To give a reply to the Bolsheviks it is enough for the laity to know that such agreements are contrary to the commandments of our faith, and that persons who sign them are deprived of communion and are excommunicated. . . . Moreover, having regard to the actual political situation, it must be borne in mind that the Bolsheviks will not, as a matter of fact, wish to close and sequestrate the churches. It is one thing to put pressure on Catholics to make them sign the agreements and to insist on submission to the decrees, but it is quite another thing to close the churches. It is a big step to take, and just now they are sensitive to the public opinion of Europe. Refusal to sign the agreements has at any rate this advantage, that we shall not be tied by any obligation, and the Bolsheviks will pay more regard to Catholics if they hold out than if they give way" (.....). The priest Budkiewicz put all the above points before the conference of the clergy on February 28, 1920 (.....). The new offensive tactics consisted, therefore, not in signing the agreements, and so complying in some form or another with the orders of the Soviet Government, but in a call for a flat refusal of any such compliance. A detailed analysis of this document testifies to the following facts: (1) The considerations underlying the policy of the clergy were not of a purely canonical character; their guiding motive lay in the fact that the political situation had changed, and it was the power of the Soviet Government, and not its rapid decline, which they had at first anticipated, that called for more decisive measures

at this date; (2) the aim and end of all their policy was not the defence of liberty of conscience, but resistance to the Soviet Government; (3) the method of this resistance was the provoking of conflicts between the people and the Government, conflicts in which it would appear that the lawful determination of the faithful not to sign the agreements had resulted in acts of violence on the part of the Government, such as the closing of the churches, whereby (*i.e.*, owing to these very circumstances) an anti-Soviet and counter-revolutionary agitation would be aroused.

The same Budkiewicz gave a more detailed and concrete account of the measures proposed by the clergy in his other document entitled "An Historical Memorandum on the Separation of Church and State in Bolshevik Russia." This historical memorandum contains a summary of Government measures relating to the Church from about the end of the year 1917 to the beginning of 1920, and shows how the Roman Catholic clergy responded to the measures of the Government of Workers and Peasants (.....). Thus, after the publication by the Narkomjust [People's Commissariat for Justice] of the regulations containing the form of agreement that was to be concluded between the parishioners and the local Soviets as to the use of the churches, and after the publication on December 6, 1918, by the Petrograd Soviet in the newspaper *The Northern Commune* of the compulsory regulations by which all the Churches were commanded to present an inventory of their property and to hand over all the parochial registers to the Departments for Justice, the Dean of Petrograd, with the consent of the Archbishop, presented to an assembly of the parochial clergy, in the first half of December, a document in which he instructed them " to ignore, as being contrary to canon law, the form of agreement published in the regulations, and ordered to be signed by those parishioners who were to receive from the Government the use of the fabric of the church and of the articles of worship. (*a*) The representatives of the parish must point out that the Church cannot be deprived of its independence, and must demand that the Russian Government be satisfied to accept the draft agreement by which Church property is transferred to the custody of the parishioners. (*b*) If the Department of Protection does not consent to this demand, then the representatives of the parish must immediately propose the introduction into the form of agreement of such corrections as are necessary to bring it into conformity with the mind of the Church. (*c*) In the event of the authorities refusing to include such corrections, the parishioners may sign the agreement, but they must at the same time make a declaration that they do so under compulsion, and explain that, in the spirit of the above-mentioned corrections, they regard the agreement as fictitious. (*d*) The representatives of the parishioners must not surrender Church property, but must

await the demands of the authorities, and meanwhile spare no effort to save Church property from confiscation (in general, a policy of procrastination). (*e*) The priests must keep one copy of the parochial registers outside the church and deposit another copy at the Consistory. When the authorities demand the registers, they must be told that the registers have been sent to the Consistory."

The same document cites the following facts: "(18) Early in August an agreement was signed at Basil Island without any reservations and with the consent of His Grace. (19) Soon after this the meeting of clergy was convened by the Dean (at the first *Rota*), at which it was decided that it was not permissible to sign the agreements. (20) A few days later a meeting of the central committee with the clergy was held, at which, after the canon law on the subject and the opinion given by the Archbishop had been considered, it was resolved not to give way about signing the agreements, and to send a protest from the central committee and the parochial committees to Moscow. The drafting of these protests was confided to Monsieur Novitsky, and a date was fixed for making the protest in accord with the Orthodox bodies. (30) Experience has shown that the best way of dealing with the question of the agreements and similar difficulties is to procrastinate, to make protests, and so forth. It was also resolved that parish priests should keep a careful watch lest those parishioners who became signatories to the agreements should exceed the limits of such action as was necessary for the protection of the Church. After the signing of the agreement the parish priest should caution them that they are not at liberty to execute any other documents on the demand of the Soviet Government, and that if they take action in contravention of this formal warning they will be *ipso facto* excommunicated."

Another document belonging to the class which illustrates the tactics used by the clergy against the Soviet Government is the circular letter of Archbishop Cieplak, dated September 12, 1919, in which he rehearses and explains the fundamental principles and spirit of canon law, and demonstrates the authority which attaches to parish priests and the sanctity and inviolability of Church property. To quote the circular:

"Church property, as it is called, in general, and more particularly the instruments of worship, such as the actual churches, the sacred vessels, the bells, etc., are the sacred and inviolable possessions of the Church: (1) Because they have been dedicated by the donors expressly for the service of the Church; and (2) because they are consecrated—that is to say, set apart from worldly objects. Consequently, to take possession of these things, to hand them over to persons having no legal right to them, to execute agreements or other civil documents about them without the permission of the ecclesiastical authorities,

is not only to violate the rights of the Church in respect to these things, but is a profanation of sacred objects in which Catholics can take no part. The inviolability of consecrated buildings and articles of worship is sufficiently guaranteed by canon law. As regards Church property in a wider sense—that is, all that is commonly called the temporal goods of the Church—this, having been given by various benefactors to the Church alone, is the Church's inviolable property. On this account the Archbishop and the central committee have already entered a protest at the proper time against the nationalization of such property, and now, if this scheme of nationalization is carried out, parishioners must do their part, by renewing the protest, to obtain justice and respect for their rights."

Such, to judge by the documents discovered, were the activities of the Roman Catholic clergy during the first three years (1918-1920) of the existence of the Soviet Government.

Their tactics met with complete success. The agreements were either signed with the reservations advised by the clergy or they were not signed at all. Consequently, the clergy possessed and retained in actual fact the possibility of bringing their influence to bear and of administering the property of the Church as they thought fit. The agreements previously concluded by nearly all the Petrograd parishes according to the regulations issued by the People's Commissariat of Justice on August 24, 1918, were in practice cancelled in accordance with the change of opinion on the subject among the Roman Catholic clergy. A large number of Catholic citizens tendered their resignation from the parochial committees to the corresponding Department of the Ispolkoms [executive committees], others left for Poland; consequently, the agreements previously concluded lost their validity, and the orders of the Government which made the parishioners responsible for the churches transferred to them remain practically in abeyance. Under the circumstances the committees organized by the clergy became useless and ceased to function. This is why in April, 1920, the clergy ceased holding their conferences regularly.

However, in 1922 the situation became more critical, and the course of events shows that the Bishops, emboldened by their initial success, far from abating their pretensions, entrenched themselves in their position. Two events served to bring the question [of Church and State] to the fore in an acute form: first, the decree of the Soviet Government dated February 23, 1922, dealing with the confiscation of valuables from the churches; and, secondly, the new [regulations for the] registration of religious associations, combined with the establishment in December, 1922, of registration offices at the Ispolkoms [executive committees] of Petrograd. These two nearly simultaneous events raised one single issue—the issue of the relation of the Church to the Soviet State, and here, as elsewhere, the members

of the Church were the first to take the offensive. On January 3, 1922, shortly before the publication of the decree for the confiscation of Church valuables, Archbishop Cieplak, who had evidently been informed of the forthcoming decree, issued a circular letter to all the Roman Catholic clergy laying down rules for the guidance of the Deans of the churches in the event of difficulties arising in their relations with the Government and other institutions. Moreover, contrary to all the laws of the Government of Workers and Peasants on the subject, this circular assures the Roman Catholic clergy that all ecclesiastical property, especially such as is required for public worship (*e.g.*, the churches and the articles of worship shown on their inventories), is the unquestionable possession of the Church, all the more that the greater part of these things has been consecrated and set apart for the glory of God and the spiritual good of the faithful. That is why these things cannot be handed over to any group of believers, twenty or more, for those who purport so to hand them over have no right to do so, not being themselves the owners; for the same reasons separate bodies of believers cannot be authorized to take charge of Church property; consequently, as far as property of the kind above described is concerned, no agreements, contracts, inventories, or inspections made by persons not specially authorized can be allowed, still less the confiscation of such property, without the express sanction of the ecclesiastical authorities. In the event of illicit authorities demanding actions that infringe canonical rights, appeal should be made (*a*) to the decree on the separation of Church and State and [its provision for] liberty of conscience in matters of religious belief—on the basis of this decree the State should not interfere with the inner life of the Church, nor do anything to violate the conscience of the faithful; and (*b*) to the Treaty of Riga, concluded with Poland on March 12, 1921; Article VII, § 3, of the text of this treaty guarantees to the Church and to religious associations to which Polish nationals belong the independent organization of their own religious life and the use of ecclesiastical property.

On February 23, 1922, the decree for the confiscation of Church valuables was published; this decree was made necessary by an appalling public disaster—the famine which was invading the greater part of the Republic. On this occasion Archbishop Cieplak once more gave proof of a hostile attitude by refusing to submit to the demands of the Soviet Government. For example, when the priest Rutkovsky, Dean of Yaroslav, sent a telegram about delivering the inventory to the local commission and about the latter's demands, Archbishop Cieplak replied by telegram on March 19, 1922, "Demand illegal; do not deliver inventory." On receipt of Cieplak's order, the Dean of Yaroslav, the priest Rutkovsky, refused to obey the Yaroslav Commission when it ordered him to deliver the inventory, and for this action

he was tried by the Revolutionary Tribunal of Petrograd and sentenced to twelve months' imprisonment.

The most interesting point about this new position taken up by the clergy was their tendency to find " legal " bases for their pretensions, and here, as previously, the clergy have, to put it plainly, fraudulently misrepresented the existing law. For instance, when commenting on the decree for the separation of Church and State, the clergy purposely kept silence on the fundamental principle of the law, which is that all ecclesiastical property is the property of the State; again, when commenting on the Treaty of Peace with Poland they intentionally omitted to mention that, whereas under this treaty the R.S.F.S.R. [Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic] had undertaken to allow all citizens of Polish nationality to organize their religious life as they might wish, it had only undertaken to do so within the limits of the general legislation of the R.S.F.S.R. Such was the new position. All the steps taken by the Petrograd Gubispolkom [Provincial Executive Committee] during the latter half of 1922 with the object of making fresh agreements with the Roman Catholic parishioners came to nothing. The law became a dead letter, and the Government was reduced to taking repressive measures—*i.e.*, to closing the churches, a step which at the same time put an end to the secret counter-revolutionary schemes and to the incitement of the populace against the Soviet Government, which had been the great aim and effort of the partisans of the Church. The representatives of the Government used to go to the meetings of parishioners, and either find no one there or else meet with a decidedly hostile reception, and all the efforts they made to prove to the parishioners how necessary it was in their own interest for them to sign the agreements were unavailing. Almost everywhere where meetings did take place, the parishioners gave, as their alleged motive for not signing the agreements, the identical pretexts that had been adduced at the conferences of the Roman Catholic clergy and in the circulars of Archbishop Cieplak—namely, that the Pope of Rome alone was empowered to deal with Church property; they went so far as to appeal to their canon law, to the decree on the separation of Church and State, and to Article VII of the Riga Treaty of Peace, thus affording proof absolute that these pretexts had been explained at length to the mass of the faithful by their clergy.

In the Moskovsky-Narvsky district the inspection of the Roman Catholic church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin was to be carried out. A previous agreement had been signed at this church on November 16, 1922, with the following reservation: " Provisionally, pending the decision of the supreme authority in the Catholic Church, the Pope of Rome." Mikhaïlov, the administrator for ecclesiastical affairs, had notified the parochial committee that the inventory would be checked on

March 6, and that the presence of representatives of the committee [of parishioners] responsible for the church would be required. But when Mikhaïlov arrived at the church at the time appointed he found the Dean Khvetzko with a number of parishioners, who prevented his proceeding [to check the inventory], and in the end it came out that a majority of those parishioners who had signed the contract for the use of the church had already notified the parochial committee of their resignation.

On the same day a general meeting of the parishioners was held in the church. They decided to consider the former agreement cancelled and not to enter into any other, the reason alleged for this refusal being that the Soviet Government, by seeking to check [the inventories of] Church property and to administer Church property under the civil law, was interfering in ecclesiastical affairs. Later on the same day (March 19) Mikhaïlov and Lossov, the representatives of the local executive committee for the Moskovsky-Narvsky district, called a second time on the priest Khvetzko and urged on him the necessity of signing the contract; but the priest declared that such a proceeding was contrary to the dogmas of the Catholic Church, and that the inspection of Church property verged upon sacrilege. In consequence of this refusal to sign the contract, and in pursuance of a decree made by the Gubispolkom [Provincial Executive Committee] of Petrograd, the church of the Assumption was sealed up on December 5, 1922, in the presence of Citizen Smirnov, the head of the Moskovsky-Narvsky administrative district. When he arrived at the church accompanied by the police, Smirnov found there some thirty of the faithful and two priests, Rutkovsky and Pronsketis. When the Government officials ordered all those present to leave the church, the faithful refused to obey and, going down on their knees, they started singing hymns. The priests Pronsketis and Rutkovsky were the first to fall on their knees. When Smirnov requested the priest Khvetzko, who had arrived on the scene, to exert his authority over the parishioners, Khvetzko declined to do so, saying that he could not drive persons engaged in prayer out of the church. Consequently, after a final warning to the faithful, the troops were marched into the church with orders to expel all those who did not go out of their own accord. This order was executed. Some of the faithful shouted out protests, and one of them, Citizen Sharnas, even uttered loud threats against the Soviet Government and its officials then in the church.

At the church of St. Casimir, No. 22, Uchakovsky Street, in the Narva-Peterhof district, it was also impossible to complete the agreement with the council of parishioners, because the Dean of the said church, the priest Eismont, as often as the administrator of ecclesiastical affairs for the above district suggested

to him to convene a general meeting of his parishioners, alleged various pretexts for refusing to do so; he appealed to his canonical rights, and added that he would not allow *oprichniki** to touch the sanctuary. In the summer of 1922 the Dean had said to the administrator Guedix: " I shall not allow my parishioners to speak to you." On July 24 Citizen Guedix received from the administrative section of the Petrograd Soviet the order to close and seal the church. On arriving at the church, Guedix found a crowd of parishioners whose attitude was distinctly hostile, and he judged it inadvisable to seal the church. On this occasion, the priest Eismont told Guedix that he would only obey his ecclesiastical superiors, and that he protested against the closing of the churches. On July 28 Guedix returned, accompanied by a military officer, to seal the church, but he again failed to do so because the priest Eismont had gone away, carrying off the keys of the church with him, and the crowd of parishioners who had assembled took up too hostile an attitude towards the Government [officials]. One boy had even rung the tocsin.

On June 22, 1922, the confiscation of valuables was being carried out at the church of St. Stanislaus. Proceedings had begun in the absence of the Dean, Yunevich; when at last he did appear, he shouted to Vlassov and Kolesnikov, members of the commission: " Get out !" In this parish, the district administrator, Michuvin, had made vain endeavours extending over several months to arrange a general meeting of the parishioners; when a time was fixed no one came. Michuvin had likewise been unable to get word with the priest Yunevich; if Michuvin came to the church during divine office, Yunevich disappeared into the presbytery the moment it was over. On the day this church was closed Michuvin got there at 10 a.m., and Yunevich begged to be allowed to celebrate a last Mass; permission having been given, Yunevich proceeded to officiate continuously (from 10 a.m.) till 6.30 p.m.; then Michuvin was compelled to call in the troops (.....).

At the confiscation of valuables in St. Catherine's Church on June 24, 1922, the Dean, Khodnevich, refused to show the place where these articles were hidden. When Kolesnikov, the administrator of [ecclesiastical] affairs for the district, went up to the altar and asked to have the fair-sized cupboard which stood on it opened, Khodnevich not only refused to open it himself, but declared that he would not allow the Government officials to open it, and that they would have to pass over his

* The *oprichniki* were a bodyguard of cut-throats—very much resembling the Red Guards of 1918—whom Ivan the Terrible collected around him as a protection against the *Boyars*, to whom Ivan was opposed. They were allowed to levy whatever contributions they chose on the people and were, like the agents of the G.P.U., above the law.

dead body to do so. Then he addressed the parishioners, exhorting them to defend the altar and calling out: "Parishioners, let us pray; let us defend [the tabernacle]; let them pass over our dead bodies!" Hence, in order to avoid a collision with the faithful, the inspection of the cupboard had to be given up by Kolesnikov (.....).

At the church of the Blessed Virgin on October 28, 1922, Citizen Niemenenko, the administrator of ecclesiastical affairs for the district of Viborg, had convened a general meeting of the parishioners in order to proceed to the election of a body of twenty from among them who would be empowered to sign the contract for the use of the church. Vompas, an official of the Gubispolkom [Provincial Executive Committee], presided at the meeting, which was very disorderly; the Government officials were prevented from speaking by uproarious interruptions, shouts, and hisses. The parishioners refused point-blank to sign the agreement. When they were cautioned that this would mean the closing of the church, they declared that they would lie down before the doors and would not allow the church to be closed.

Similar scenes were enacted at the following churches: the church of the Immaculate Conception (Dean Vassilevsky), St. Francis (Dean Yanukovich), the Sacred Heart of Jesus (Dean Matulianis), the Sacred Heart of Mary (Dean Maletzky), St. Boniface (Dean Budkiewicz), and the church of the Pentecost (Dean, the Exarch of the Russian Greco-Catholic Church, Fedorov). When the agreements were to be renewed, the parishioners behaved exactly as those at the church of the Assumption and at St. Catherine's had done: they refused to sign the agreements and appealed to the canon law.

The series of events above related forced upon the Department of Justice the necessity of making a detailed investigation into the activities of the Roman Catholic clergy, to make the necessary arrests and domiciliary visits, and to draw up a statement of charge against the guilty; to this statement were attached the documents found at the residence of Pussevich which have been mentioned above, and which sufficiently illustrate, interpret, and explain the events of 1922. When subjected to examination, Pussevich stated that these papers had been brought to his quarters and deposited there in his presence either by Mgr. Budkiewicz or by John Yakobovich, the registrar of St. Catherine's parish, he could not remember which. That same day or the next, in the course of the domiciliary visit made at Pussevich's by the Petrograd Ch.K., these documents were found and impounded.

The following persons have been brought to trial in consequence of these events: (1) Archbishop John Cieplak; (2) Mgr. Maletzky; (3) Mgr. Budkiewicz; (4) Vassilevsky, priest; (5) Yanukovich, priest; (6) Eismont, priest; (7) Yunevich, priest; (8) Matulianis,

priest; (9) Khvetzko, priest; (10) Troigo, priest; (11) Khodnevich, priest; (12) Ivanov, priest; (13) the Exarch of the Russian Greco-Catholic Church, Fedorov; (14) Rutkovsky, priest; (15) Pronsketis, priest; and (16) Citizen Sharnas. They all pleaded not guilty, and the first thirteen put in statements which are in effect a general assertion that no secret or counter-revolutionary organization existed among them. The clerical conferences, they assert, had no official character, and none but purely ecclesiastical topics were discussed at them. Political questions were not debated at these conferences, and the behaviour of the Government towards the Church was only dealt with from the standpoint of the canon law. None of them had agitated against the Government. The refusal of the parishioners to sign the agreements which would have constituted them tenants of the churches was not due to pressure on the part of the clergy, but to the fact that the Catholic faithful knew very well, without being prompted by the clergy, that the tenets of their religion forbid any such action on their part. The accused themselves were of the same opinion—namely, that ecclesiastical goods and chattels are the inviolable property of the Church, and that the decrees of the Government for the nationalization of such property were contrary to the tenets of their religion. As to the telegram that he had sent on March 19, 1922, to Father Rutkovsky at Yaroslav, Cieplak declared that this telegram could in no wise be interpreted as an incitement to revolt against the Government's decrees, but simply as giving a correct idea of the canon law on the subject, according to which all Church articles, being sacred, belong exclusively to the Church and to its head, the Pope, who alone can dispose of such property. The priest Rutkovsky, who pleaded not guilty, stated (.....) that at the time of the eviction of the people from the church of the Blessed Virgin on December 5, 1922, he was saying his prayers there, but that as soon as he was ordered to leave the church he obeyed at once.

Pronsketis stated (.....) that when, at the time of the closing of the church [of the Assumption], he was saying his customary prayers in the church, the Government official ordered everyone out of the church, but he, Pronsketis, went on with his prayers none the less. Citizen Sharnas had deposed that when he heard the order to leave the church he stayed behind because others of the faithful did so too; when the troops forcibly expelled the people who were at their prayers, one soldier had pushed a sick woman, and he, Sharnas, had called out to the soldier to treat the woman with more civility and humanity.

The priests Baltrushis and Chaevsky, who had been summoned for trial, had died; Archbishop Ropp and the priests Barkovsky and Ivitzky had gone abroad.

In pursuance of the above statement of charges the following

are summoned to appear before the High Court of the R.S.F.S.R. [Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic]—viz.:

(1) John Cieplak, aged sixty-five, born at Dombrovo, Bendinsk district (*uyezd*),* Peterkovsky *volost*,† Archbishop; no previous conviction.

(2) Anthony Maletzky, aged sixty-two,‡ Monsignor; no previous conviction.

(3) Constantine Budkiewicz, aged sixty-five, Monsignor, noble, of Vitebsk; no previous conviction.

(4) Anthony Vassilevsky, aged fifty-nine, noble, of Moghilev, priest; no previous conviction.

(5) Peter Yanukovich, aged fifty-nine, peasant, of the Province§ of Vilna, district of Disna, *volost* of Mersk, priest; sentenced in 1920 to twelve months' penal servitude for having kept corpses in the church.

(6) Stanislaus Eismont, aged thirty-five, peasant, of Minsk, priest; no previous conviction.

(7) Edward Yunevich, aged twenty-five, citizen of Vilna, priest; no previous conviction.

(8) Theophilus Matulianis, aged fifty, peasant, of the Province of Kovno, district of Vilkomir, Kalyansky *volost*, village of Kudarishki, priest; convicted in 1909 by the Court of Regitz of having baptized a child born of a mixed marriage.

(9) Lucian Khvetzko, aged thirty-three, peasant, of the Province of Grodno, district of Sokol, village of Malyshev, priest; prosecuted under paragraph 121 of the Penal Code, but the trial was annulled by the amnesty of 1922.

(10) John Troigo, peasant, of the Province of Grodno, district of Sokol, village of Progalino, priest; no previous conviction.

(11) Paul Khodnevich, aged forty-two, citizen, of the Province of Radom, priest; no previous conviction.

(12) Dominic Ivanov, aged thirty-nine, noble, of the Province of Vitebsk, priest; no previous conviction.

(13) Leonidas Fedorov, aged forty-three, son of a Petrograd artisan, Exarch of the Russian Greco-Catholic Church; no previous conviction.

(14) Francis Rutkovsky, aged thirty-nine, peasant, of the district of Bielostok, priest; no previous conviction.

(15) Augustin Pronsketis, aged twenty-six, peasant, of the Province of Kovno, district of Shavli, priest; no previous conviction.

(16) James Sharnas, aged seventeen, peasant, of the Province

* *Uyezd*=district, a subdivision of a Province.

† *Volost*=a group of villages forming a subdivision of an *uyezd*.

‡ No indication is given of Mgr. Maletzky's civil status in any document connected with the trial, but in the speech he made before being sentenced he stated that his father was a noble.

§ Russia was divided into "governments" or provinces, most of which still retain their old names.

of Kovno, district of Bernany, student, belonging to no political party; no previous conviction.

The first thirteen on the list are accused of having (from the end of the year 1918 to December, 1922) conspired together to found a counter-revolutionary organization—that is to say, an organization having for its object a revolt against the laws and orders of the Soviet Government regulating the relations between Church and State, more especially the decree of the Council of People's Commissars of January 23, 1918, on the separation of Church and State with its supplementary regulations. For the attainment of their object they brought into play the religious prejudices of the Catholics of Petrograd, carrying on propaganda in the pulpit and elsewhere, and exhorting the faithful to break the laws of the Soviet Government in so far as these laws regulated the nationalization and tenure of Church property, the execution of civil documents, and so forth. To excuse their criminal behaviour, they appealed to the canon law of the Roman Catholic Church, and purposely misinterpreted the various legal enactments of the Government; similarly, they worked upon the consciences of the faithful with the object of exciting them to hostility against the Soviet Government. The result was seen in the agitation of the mass of parishioners at the Petrograd churches against the agreements on the use of Church property which had been opposed, and in their unanimous opposition to the closing of the churches and to the sequestration of valuables, which was carried out in 1922 in Petrograd and was the occasion of open resistance to the legal demands of the Government—in other words, of the crimes indictable under Articles 63 and 119 of the Criminal Code.

Cieplak is further accused that in taking part in the above-mentioned organization he did, to further his ends, publish on January 3, 1922, a circular letter in which he protested against the confiscation without the permission of the ecclesiastical authorities of valuables used in public worship; that when questioned by the priest Rutkovsky of Yaroslav about the inventory of the articles in his church which was demanded by the local commission, he, Cieplak, did reply in his telegram of March 13, 1922: "Demand illegal; do not deliver the inventory"; in consequence of which the priest Rutkovsky refused to make an inventory of his church—an indictable offence under Article 77, paragraph 1, of the Criminal Code.

Khodnevich is further accused that on June 24, 1922, at the confiscation of valuables in St. Catherine's Church, when the commissioners Kolesnikov and Ivanov wished to inspect a cupboard on the altar, he, Khodnevich, did offer resistance, telling the said delegates that they should not open the cupboard without stepping over his dead body, and did further address the parishioners then present in the church in these words: "Parishioners, let us pray and defend the tabernacle; let them

pass over our dead bodies." And consequently the inspection of the cupboard had to be given up by the commission—offences indictable under Article 119 of the Criminal Code.

Yunevich is further accused that on June 22, 1922, in the church of St. Stanislaus at Petrograd, when the valuables were being sequestrated, he resisted the commissioners Kolesnikov and Ivanov by shouting at them: "Get out!"—an offence indictable under Article 72 of the Criminal Code.

Further, Rutkovsky and Pronsketis are accused that during the closing of the church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin by order of the Government, in spite of the orders of Citizen Smirnov, the head of the administrative section of the Moskovsky-Narvsky district [of Petrograd], and of the commandant of the troops bidding all persons present to leave the church, they, the above named, far from obeying this order, but rather with the intention of exhorting the crowd that filled the church to resist the Government, did fall ostentatiously on their knees and began to pray, and the crowd of parishioners followed their example. In this manner, by playing on the religious prejudices of the crowd assembled in the church, they incited it to a passive resistance to the legal enactments of the Government—offences indictable under Article 119 of the Criminal Code.

Further, Sharnas is accused that in the same place and on the same occasion, being in the middle of the crowd when the troops began at Smirnov's order to eject those who would not go out of their own accord, he, Sharnas, jointly with other persons whom it has not been possible to identify on enquiry, opposed the action of the Government [officials], and, further, that he allowed himself to insult in public the representatives of the Government who were in the church—offences indictable under Article 77, paragraph 2, of the Criminal Code.

PROCURATOR OF THE SUPREME TRIBUNAL OF THE REPUBLIC
(IZACHIK).

Though no comment on the above document is necessary, I shall draw the reader's attention to one point—that here and throughout the rest of this book the prosecution enjoys a great advantage, inasmuch as it was able to develop its case as much as it liked, all the newspapers, printing presses, journalists, scribes, propagandists, orators, news agencies, and diplomatists of the Soviet Republic being at its disposal, whereas the accused were given no opportunity of replying to the full case against them. True, they had been served with the above statement of accusation; but charges not in the indictment were sprung on them during the trial—for

instance, the ludicrous accusations against Mgr. Budkiewicz, accusations on which Krylenko laid great stress, of having corresponded with the Polish Government are not mentioned at all in the above statement of accusation, and were only dragged in at the last moment in order to give a political appearance to a prosecution which was entirely religious. Moreover, the accused were unable to call witnesses; their advocates had been prevented from preparing a proper defence, and were intimidated by the arrest of one of them, M. Kommodov, when, greatly daring, he ventured to visit Petrograd on the eve of the trial in order to secure information favourable to his clients; neither Bobrishchev-Pushkin nor Kommodov was bold enough to cross-examine the hostile witnesses as an English lawyer would have cross-examined them, or to say what an English lawyer would have said about the partiality of the judges, or about the arguments advanced by the Procurator, or about the way the whole case was conducted by the prosecution. Owing to the Bolsheviks having complete control of the press, the answers of the accused were garbled or suppressed, whereas, even while the case was *sub judice*, the Communist newspapers published the most unfair comment, as will be seen by any reader who takes the trouble to read the translations from those newspapers which I give in the Appendix. Great prominence was given by those newspapers to Krylenko's speeches, of which no fewer than three versions were published—one in the *Izvestia*, one in the *Pravda*, and one in the Bolshevik pamphlet on the trial; and Krylenko was able to write those versions himself in the palatial residence which he occupies near the British Mission, to touch them up, to alter them, to expand them. It was impossible, on the other hand, for an impartial reporter to get any information from the prisoners, who were all crammed together into one cell in the Butyrka, without writing material, and without any opportunity of consulting with their lawyers. It was equally impossible for a reporter to get any information from the counsel for the defence, who, fearing for themselves, refused to correct even the reports of their own speeches; and, of course, it was utterly out of the question for a journalist to submit

to the prisoners themselves the reports which he had written rapidly during a trial which, at the most critical moments, went at a breakneck pace. Representatives of the Polish Mission were not allowed to attend the trial; and the Rev. Father Zielinski, vicar of SS. Peter and Paul, who might have been of some assistance to a foreign journalist, was arrested during the course of the trial, and is still in prison. (I might add that I never had an opportunity of consulting this gentleman myself.)

The result is that, even in my report of the proceedings, the Bolshevik side of the case is, as a general rule, the only side given. Take, for example, the account of the intrusion of Communist agents into the churches, which appears in the statement of accusation. I have had no opportunity of getting the prisoners' account of those intrusions, though I have every reason to believe, from stray items of information which have reached me, that they were characterized by insolence, brutality, and sacrilege on the part of the Bolshevik rowdies who perpetrated them, the priests being in some cases dragged in their vestments from the altar.

Finally, I have been unable to get any of the replies given by the prisoners at the preliminary investigation, with the exception of the following supplementary statement from one of the least important of the accused :

TRANSLATION FROM A COPY OF THE ORIGINAL RUSSIAN DOCUMENT (No. 789).

Supplementary Statement of the Priest, John Troigo.

I add the following statement to supplement the evidence given by me before the Petrograd investigating magistrate, Lopatinsky:

I consider that the allegation made in the Act of Accusation about me—viz., that there existed in Petrograd between the latter part of 1918 and December 5, 1922, a counter-revolutionary organization, founded by the Catholic clergy with my concurrence —to be unfounded, untrue, and unjust.

The " reports " shown me as the sole proof of the existence of such an organization appear to be someone's private and informal notes, unverified and unsigned, and therefore unworthy of notice and incapable of proving anything. Moreover, these notes show how informal the conferences they refer to were, how unlike a formal organization. The questions referred to

in these notes, questions concerning the religious life of Catholics, were necessarily discussed at the meetings of the Supreme Ecclesiastical Administration of the Catholic Church, the existence of which was known to the civil authorities, and there was no need to found a new and, so it is alleged, counter-revolutionary association. These questions were debated at the meetings of the Supreme Ecclesiastical Administration, not with the intention of resisting the decree of January 23, 1918, but in the hope of discovering some way of conforming with the decree without doing violence to the consciences of faithful Catholics.

The immediate cause of the discussion of the problem of the relations between Church and State was the offer made by the Government on May 22, 1918 (No. 13), to Archbishop Ropp to take part in consultations on the regulation of the relations between the State and the religious denominations, these consultations to be based on the recognition of freedom of conscience. This question had not previously been discussed owing to the impression prevailing that the decree of January 23, 1918, did not apply to Catholics; for as the Catholic Church had never been incorporated in the Russian State, and existed in Russia by virtue of International Concordats, there was no need of any Act of Separation in its case.

Owing to the office I held in the Supreme Ecclesiastical Administration of the Catholic Church, I took part in the business and discussions connected with the administration of the Catholic Church, and I affirm categorically that the questions discussed bore solely upon the religious life of Catholics and of the Catholic Church. If we Catholics have so far not succeeded in establishing good relations with the State and have to suffer persecution and outrage, the fault does not lie with Catholics and their administration, nor is it mine personally, but the responsibility rests with those Government officials who, notwithstanding the Constitution of the R.S.F.S.R. (Part II, Chapter V, § 13), which guarantees liberty of conscience to all citizens, are incapable as yet of divesting their minds of belated memories of the Tzarist *régime* or of rising to the height of comprehending and respecting other people's convictions.

(*Signed*) J. Troigo,
Priest.

Moscow,
March 7, 1923.

(The blank spaces which will be noticed in " The Statement of Accusation " were originally filled with alphabetical letters and figures referring to depositions, affidavits, etc., composing original *dossier*.)

CHAPTER IV

THE CIEPLAK TRIAL: FIRST DAY

WEDNESDAY, March 21, 1923, was the opening day of the trial which, for the sake of convenience, I shall call the Cieplak trial.

The first thing Judge Galkin did after coming in was to take a long look at his prospective victims. I never saw hatred so intense and undisguised as was concentrated into that look; and, for the first time in my life, I had a practical illustration of those phrases which are, as a rule, in the less primitive society of the contemporary West, nothing but phrases—left mostly to the poet and the historical novelist—phrases which speak of eyes that stab, of glances so charged with intense malignity that, if looks could kill, they would cause instant death. During the course of the trial I frequently caught the same terrible look on the faces of Krylenko and Krasikov, of the witnesses for the prosecution, and of the Red journalists who were supposed to be giving an impartial report of the case, and realized with a genuine shock that the world wherein for the moment I found myself was animated by that same passionate intolerance which had led the Roman mob, the Roman officials, and even the Roman intellectuals, of Trajan's time to loathe the Christians with a fury so immeasurable as to embarrass and alarm even Cæsar himself.

The proceedings began by Judge Galkin saying, with a certain solemnity, "I declare this court of the Supreme Tribunal of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic to be open." He and everyone else were standing up when he said those words. After he had said them, all sat down. This little ceremony, which is always repeated at the opening of a Bolshevik court, was simple but effective.

Perhaps, in my ears at least, the long, awkward title of

the new Republic sounded less effective on this occasion than usual, for in the first place it suggested the mutability and the impermanence of the Soviet power, being out of date since December, 1922, when the Tenth Congress of Soviets changed it to the "Union of Socialist Soviet Republics," and, in the second place, I could not help adding, under my breath, the more permanent and majestic title which the Nicene Creed gives to the defendant, and saying "*versus* unam sanctam Catholicam et Apostolicam Ecclesiam."

After the reading of the statement of accusation by the youth Bykov, whom we should describe as "the clerk of the court," but whom the Bolsheviks call the "Secretary of the Judicial Collegium of the Supreme Tribunal of the R.S.F.S.R.," the prisoners were asked if they were guilty or not guilty. They all pleaded "Not guilty." Then the witnesses were called. With one exception, that of a man of about thirty years of age, they were all young people, nearer twenty than thirty; and though they all held high positions in the section of the Petrograd Soviet which deals with religious matters, they made such an impression of irresponsibility that one could well understand the priests refusing to take them seriously when they came to treat, on the part of the Soviet Government, about the signature of agreements regarding the churches.

The witnesses did not come all together. They dribbled in slowly, each more disreputable-looking than the last and with a longer title, save in the case of Sapunova, the girl secretary to the Basil Island Executive Committee, who was fairly presentable and had a manageable title, though she would probably resent as much being called Miss Sapunova as Trotzky would resent being called Mr. Trotzky.

There was Guedix. There was Comrade Smirnov, the Administrative Director of the Moscow-Narva district. There was Koenig, President of the Church Board in the Moscow-Narva district. There was the nineteen-year-old Kolesnikov, representative of the Commission for the Requisition of Church Valuables. These witnesses declared that, in accordance with the decree of January 23, 1918, they had requested the priests to sign agreements regarding the Church buildings, and had also requested

them to register and deliver Church valuables, but that they had met with refusal and resistance in all the Petrograd churches. According to them, it was this refusal which had provoked the issue of a new decree (the number of decrees mentioned was enough to make a reporter's head dizzy), which ordered the closing and sealing of the churches, which closing and sealing took place in the beginning of December, 1922, in the face of resistance which necessitated the use of force and the violent expulsion of the congregations from the different churches.

In the attitude of these witnesses and in the stories which they told there was a curious mixture of timidity and insolence. On several occasions, apparently, they had been frightened by the aspect of the congregations and had run away, as the devil is said to run away from holy water. On other occasions they had behaved like the bullies they were. Krylenko was obviously displeased at their running-away performances, and he asked them on several occasions if they realized that they represented the majesty of the Soviet law. They did not seem to realize it, for, during their examination, most of the resonant, iron phrases came from Krylenko, not from the witnesses.

The first witness called by the prosecution was Smirnov, a weedy, hollow-chested youth of twenty-four, who described himself as an official of the Petrograd Soviet. He had been entrusted with the delicate and important work of closing the Catholic churches in Petrograd, and his testimony was a *résumé* of the petty incidents recounted in the statement of accusation. At the afternoon session Smirnov, when questioned by one of the priests—Father Rutkovsky, I think—contradicted himself; but Krylenko came to his rescue by attacking the priest who had dared to cross-examine the witness. The following is a verbatim report of this attack, which was repeated, more or less in the same form, in the case of every priest in the dock:

KRYLENKO: Did you teach religion to persons under age ?

PRIEST: Yes, whenever I was asked to do so.

KRYLENKO: Did you not know that the Soviet law forbids the teaching of religion to persons under eighteen ?

PRIEST: If the parents or other authorized persons ask me to teach religion to children, I always do so.

KRYLENKO: Even if you know it is forbidden?

PRIEST: Yes.

KRYLENKO: Did you know of the Soviet decree of 1918 nationalizing Church property, and of the decree ordering sacred vessels to be confiscated for famine relief purposes?

PRIEST: I did, in a general way. But there are other laws—those of God and of the Catholic Church. . . . And the law to teach religion is divine.

KRYLENKO: We care not about any other law. There is no law here but Soviet law. When that law comes into conflict with any other law, you must choose which you will obey.

PRIEST: I will obey the law of God and of my conscience.

KRYLENKO (*angrily*): Your conscience does not interest me in the least.

PRIEST: But it is of very great importance to me.

THE JUDGE (*severely to the priest*): Your conscience has nothing to do with this trial. (The judge then reads from the Bolshevik code the law forbidding religious teaching to minors, and, shutting the book, says, in a decisive tone: "That is the law.")

KRYLENKO: Are you aware that all sermons must be submitted to the censor? Have you ever preached in church without first submitting your sermons to the Government censor?

PRIEST: Yes.

KRYLENKO: Did you continue saying Mass after the Petrograd churches had been closed?

PRIEST: Yes.

KRYLENKO: Where? When? Before whom?

PRIEST: Quite frequently. In my private room. Sometimes I said Mass in a deserted orphanage underneath my lodgings. There were, on such occasions, 100 or 150 present.

I quote this little dialogue in full because in various ways it is characteristic of the entire trial. Krylenko's phrase, "There is no law here but Soviet law," was the keynote of all the subsequent proceedings. Like a too insistent refrain

in a piece of music, that phrase dominated everything. It was like the cry of a new Moses, who had had revealed to him from on high a decalogue which it was death to disobey, and of which not a jot or tittle must be touched. It defined perfectly the Bolshevik attitude towards the monstrous, Moloch State which they have called into existence, and which they wish to impose on all the world.

On the other hand, the dialogue which I have quoted shows the uncompromising position which was taken up by the priests. I could enlarge a good deal on those Masses said surreptitiously in the huge, deserted buildings of half-empty Petrograd, buildings wherein, during winter-time, the cold was so great that the icicles formed fantastic gargoyles above the altar, and the faithful had to keep in constant motion or to wrap themselves in layer upon layer of cloth or sheepskin. Herein is material for a story of the new catacombs, but it must not be given here.

Finding it useless, after this interruption, to question Smirnov further, Father Rutkovsky sat down saying sadly, "Then I will ask you no more questions," whereupon Smirnov snarled at him like a savage dog, as if to indicate that the prisoner had better not ask him questions; and this uncouth and vulgar demonstration of hatred called forth no reproof from the bench.

But Father Rutkovsky was not finished with by the Prosecutor, who continued the cross-examination. Rutkovsky admitted that on March 6, 1922, a Soviet official, Comrade Mikhaïlov, had come to his church to see about the inventory of Church treasures. "I told Mikhaïlov," said the priest, "that I had no right to make out such an inventory."

Another priest, cross-examined about the amount of "treasure" in his church, denied that there was any treasure, his church being situated in "a poor, working-class neighbourhood"; and the expression reminded me of the very miserable and tawdry little Polish chapels in the Petrograd slums, chapels containing naught but a crucifix over the altar, a cheap set of "Stations of the Cross," and a few crude, brightly-painted statues, as fragile and inartistic as a child's wax doll. It seemed indescribably mean of the Soviet

Government, the possessor of the Crown jewels, whereof not a single one had been contributed for the purpose of famine relief, to be harrying poor priests about " treasures " such as these.

According to this particular prisoner, his church contained no silver object save the chalice, " which I couldn't surrender," said he simply.

Judge Galkin asked him if he kept treasures in his private rooms, and the priest replied that he had only a bed, a *priedieu*, a table, and a crucifix. At mention of the crucifix, Galkin pricked up his ears. " Was it of silver ?" he asked. " No," said the priest ; " it was of metal."

Old Mgr. Maletzky, questioned on the same subject, said that, in addition to the above articles, he had in his room " a little portable altar," presumably for the celebration of Mass in the very poorest slums, for the Catholics in Petrograd belong generally to the lowest classes, and possess as little of this world's wealth as St. Peter himself possessed.

The few words which Mgr. Maletzky said on this occasion, and the way he said them, conveyed such an impression of simplicity, frankness, and saintliness, that Krylenko hardly addressed a word to him during the remainder of the trial. After his little church had been closed, he continued to say Mass, " as was my duty," he added. No, he had no gold or silver. Yes, he prepared children for the Sacraments. Those children were from seven or eight years onwards. After the issue of the law prohibiting religious instruction, he continued to prepare them. " That law made no difference to me," he added tranquilly. Krylenko told him, somewhat hurriedly, to sit down.

Krylenko continued a rambling interrogatory of Smirnov, who said, among other things, that once, when he was clearing the people out of the church of the Assumption, the crowd had become much excited and had cried out: " The Soviet power will pass away, but Christ will abide for ever " ; " St. Peter himself will come and break the seals," meaning the seals which Smirnov had affixed to the doors. These ejaculations brought smiles to the faces of the judges, and produced laughter in court.

When evidence was given by Smirnov to the effect that

on this occasion Citizen Sharnas " uttered loud threats against the Soviet Government and its officials then in the church," the boy in question rose in the dock and, speaking in a clear tone, without any trace of embarrassment, said that on the occasion referred to he had gone to church to pray, but seeing the police beating a crippled woman, he had remonstrated with them, whereupon they arrested him.

GALKIN: Why did you not leave the church when the service was over, and the militia had begun clearing the people out ?

SHARNAS: When I saw it was dangerous to stay in church, I remained with the other Christians so as to give a good example; and we all knelt down and sang prayers.

Continuing his story, Smirnov said that when he told the people to leave the church, they threw themselves on their knees and began to sing a " Psalm." The congregation numbered about 300. Somebody in the congregation said: " Within three days the Soviet power will not be in existence." (Laughter.)

Sternly questioned by Krylenko as to why he did not, by using force, insist on the representative of the Government being treated with the respect due to him in his official capacity, the witness answered weakly, and to the evident disgust of the Procurator, that he refrained from using force because the congregation was numerically stronger than the militia-men he had with him. Apparently he had turned tail and fled on this occasion.

Still continuing his reminiscences, he told how one of the priests, whom he had asked to sign the agreement, had said to him: " I am not the owner of the church, and I will not sign."

On December 7, 1919, he had found three chalices hidden in the church of St. Mary, and when he asked the priest in charge why the treasures had not been given up, the priest answered that there were no treasures, and that, even if there were, it was against the law of the Church for him (the priest) to surrender them.

Among my notes I find other phrases uttered during this examination. Krylenko said on one occasion: " The priests had no right to argue about the decree, as all Church property

had been nationalized. . . . Every citizen living in the territory of the Soviet Republic must obey the law without argument." By such strident apophthegms, which reminded me, somehow, of the monitory and authoritative declarations which embellish advertisements of Eno's Fruit Salts, Krylenko endeavoured to cover the weakness, irresolution, and ignorance of the witness, to counteract the noble phrases of the priests which Smirnov thoughtlessly repeated, and to lift the whole proceedings to a higher plane.

The witness Kolesnikov, who was also " the chief administrator of ecclesiastical affairs for the Nevsky district," gave an account of the incidents which took place when the valuables were removed from St. Catherine's Church on the Nevsky Prospect on June 24, 1922. He related that the priest Khodnevich refused to let him inspect the chalice,* declaring that he would never allow it, and that in order to inspect it the witness would have to pass over his dead body.

Khodnevich explained to the judges what the little cupboard, in Latin *tabernaculum*, where the Blessed Sacrament is kept, means to the faithful, and that no one but a priest may touch the Sacrament.

The President asked in astonishment: " But surely it† is distributed, and you give it to the faithful ?"

KHODNEVICH: Yes, distributed; but I give it myself, and exclusively to communicants.

Speaking for the first time, and with an expression of vulgar cunning which seemed to say, " I'll soon turn you inside out, my fine fellow !" Comrade Nemtzov, the workman-judge, now proceeded to question Father Khodnevich.

NEMTZOV: What was in the tabernacle ?

KHODNEVICH: The Host.

NEMTZOV: What's the Host ?

Khodnevich explained what the Host was, and where it was kept.

NEMTZOV (*leering*): Was there anything in the ciborium besides the Host ? (He apparently meant to insinuate that,

* So the witness said. But it is clear from this and other passages that what Father Khodnevich refused was inspection of the sacred vessels in the tabernacle—*i.e.*, the ciborium and the pyx.

† *I.e.*, the Sacrament.

besides the consecrated Host, the ciborium contained money or valuables.)

KHODNEVICH: No, nothing. I would not have objected to an examination of the ciborium if I had been first allowed to consume the Host that it contained.

NEMTZOV (*laughing*): You would not have objected to an examination after you had distributed what was in the ciborium along with the Host.

Father Khodnevich then explained what a sin it would be for a priest to allow the Host to be profaned, but Judge Galkin interrupted him by saying impatiently: "We don't care how you sin against religion. Our only concern is whether or not you break the law of the Soviet."

"Citizen Khodnevich," shouted Krylenko impatiently, "do you consider yourself bound to obey the orders of the Soviet Government?"

"I am not only Citizen Khodnevich," replied the accused, "I am also a Roman Catholic priest."

Further examination of Khodnevich elicited the fact that he had continued to celebrate Mass after his church had been closed by a Commissar, who had warned him not to celebrate public worship until he had received further orders. About 150 people were present every time he said Mass. He also taught children the Catechism.

Krylenko looked around, as if to say: "Did you ever hear anything so atrocious? What further need have we of witnesses?"

About the name of one church there was some confusion. Was it the "Heart of Jesus" or the "Heart of Mary"? A priest was appealed to, and he answered gravely, whereupon the Procurator and all three judges smiled. No doubt those names seemed to them puerile. To those superior persons the simple parables of Christ would, doubtless, have sounded infantile.

Father Rutkovsky, who was charged with "falling demonstratively on his knees" when the militia entered his church of the Assumption, said that, as he could not prevent the confiscation of the sacred vessels, he knelt down to pray.

"That was a counter-revolutionary act!" cried Krylenko sternly.

Father Pronsketis, of the same church, was also charged with falling on his knees. He replied that he was praying, and did not notice the arrival of the troops.

"But the service was finished," said Galkin in astonishment. "Why should you pray?"

PRONSKETIS: Priests return thanksgiving after Mass. I was making my thanksgiving.

GALKIN (*indignantly*): Do you mean to tell me you were so absorbed in prayer that you did not notice the arrival of the police? I do not believe you.

Father Vassilevsky referred, during his examination, to the Soviet law granting freedom to all religions; and, on several occasions throughout the trial, other priests quoted the same law, sometimes with a shade of irony in their voices, but always with impassive countenances.

Father Yunevich, being questioned on the teaching of his religion, said it was "love of God and love of one's neighbour." He also declared later, "I am a Catholic priest, and not a counter-revolutionary."

Next, on its appearing* that, even after the closing of the churches, the accused used to celebrate Mass in their homes and in private apartments, the judges dwelt long on the question whence came the vessels for divine service, seeing that all the Church plate was entered on the inventory. The accused explained that nearly every priest receives as a gift from his parishioners all the vessels necessary for divine service, as, for example, the chalice, and that these articles are the private property of the priest. In the course of the questions put by the Procurator and the judges, it came out that in order to say Mass, in extreme cases, a table or merely a board on trestles, a crucifix, and a Missal only are necessary.

Krylenko questioned the priests as to whether they had imparted religious instruction to children and young persons under eighteen years of age. The priests said they had. This question arose frequently afterwards, during the remainder of the trial, and the priests never wavered. They said they had given religious instruction, and would

* These facts were elicited by questions addressed by the Procurator Krylenko to the priests, who readily admitted them.

continue to do so. Two or three times Judge Galkin read out what, I believe, was the decree issued by the Soviet Government on January 21, 1921. This decree condemned as a crime the imparting of religious instruction to any person under eighteen years of age.

The Exarch Fedorov twice attempted, later on in the trial, to reason with Judge Galkin on this point, but the judge said: "It is the law; you must not reason about it; you have got to obey it."

Krylenko asked each priest if he had said Mass anywhere after the closing of the churches, and the reply was always in the affirmative, though the Procurator maintained that the holding of services in private apartments, without permission, was a violation of the decree separating Church and State.

The witness Guedix testified that the priest Eismont insulted him by his conduct, and persisted in not summoning the meeting of parishioners to sign the receipt* or agreement. Eismont explained that he did not want to speak to the witness, because he wished to treat of the matters in question with the superior representatives of the Government, and not with the said witness, who had even allowed himself to go so far as to call him, Eismont, at the Commissariat, a rascal. Questioned by the Procurator why he had persisted in not signing the receipt or agreement, Eismont explained that he had not even been able to get this document shown to him and put into his hands. It had only been read to him from a distance on two occasions, without being shown to him; he could not, therefore, sign it, since he did not know exactly what he had to sign.

In examining Guedix, the Procurator Krylenko brought out and emphasized the fact that, whereas Guedix made several attempts to organize the meeting of parishioners, but was unable to do so, Eismont had one Sunday assembled the parishioners and told them that they were forbidden to sign the agreement. Krylenko laid special stress on the fact that it had been found possible to assemble the parishioners in order to denounce the signing of the agreement, but that when it was a question of assembling them in order

* *I.e.*, for the Church valuables.

to sign it and carry out the law, then Eismont said that he was powerless in the matter.

The examination of the accused showed that nearly all of them had received a good education, and had studied theology at the ecclesiastical academy. In reply to the Procurator, they nearly all stated that they had refused to sign the agreements under orders received from the Pope and the Archbishop.

The priest Yanukovich stated that he had studied at the seminary, but had not finished his course of studies at the academy. He answered the Procurator's questions about the depositions of the witness Davidienko; when it came out that Yanukovich had signed the agreement, the Procurator Krylenko remarked with satisfaction, " Yes, you have not studied in that ' High School.' "

KRYLENKO: And have you given instruction to children ?

YANUKOVICH: I have prepared children for confession.

KRYLENKO: There you were within your rights.

The next witness was Sapunova, a plump young Russian woman of about twenty years of age, secretary to the Executive Committee of Basil Island, Petrograd. She was voluble, clever, and bitterly hostile to the prisoners. She testified that she had been unable to close the Catholic Church in her district owing to the great excitement which prevailed among the members of the congregation, some of whom had cried out, " We will not sign the agreement, because the Pope of Rome has not allowed us and will not allow us." They hustled off the witness with cries of " Liberty of conscience !" " The Communist woman !"

To all the accused Krylenko put the same question: " Have you read the decree on the separation of Church and State ?" Some replied that they had read it and knew it, others that they had taken no interest in it, since it was not their business but that of the Dean.

Then the Procurator brought out, by means of questions, that the priests had taught children in their (the priests') houses, sometimes two or three children at a time, sometimes as many as fifteen—facts which the accused did not conceal, stating that they considered their action legal and of obligation for them as priests.

Krylenko began with the youngest priests, because he thought, perhaps, that he could break down their resistance more easily than he could break down that of the Archbishop and the Monsignori. If so, he was mistaken.

" Between the laws of the Soviet Republic and that other law," said Krylenko finally, " you must make your choice." He spoke menacingly, and pronounced the words " that other law " in a tone of indescribable hostility.

" In the conflict between these two laws," replied the young priest whom he addressed, " I shall for ever follow the divine law and the law of the Church."

On this solemn note the first day's proceedings ended.

CHAPTER V

THE CIEPLAK TRIAL: SECOND DAY, THURSDAY, MARCH 22, 1923

THE Procurator Krylenko read out the statement and the draft form of receipt which had been drawn up by Father Khvetzko, together with the records of the case, in which he (Khvetzko) declared that in performance of his duty as priest he would continue as before to give instruction to children.

KRYLENKO: You are aware that the decree [of January 21, 1921] forbids you to teach children?

KHVETZKO: Yes, at school.

KRYLENKO: And how many children have you taught in your house?

KHVETZKO: One, two, sometimes more.

KRYLENKO: And the maximum number?

KHVETZKO: As many as ten.

KRYLENKO: Was not that a school?

KHVETZKO: No.

KRYLENKO: What was it, then?

KHVETZKO: Being a priest, it is my duty to teach children; for instance, if the parents ask me to do so, I have no right to refuse.

KRYLENKO: I ask you a straight question. Does not such a group of children, receiving instruction from you, constitute a school?

KHVETZKO: No; it is not a school within the meaning of the decree.

The Procurator shrugged his shoulders and waved his hands, saying at the same time: "You still persist in your point of view, which is directly opposed to that of the law?"

KHVETZKO: Being a Catholic priest, I only discharge my bounden duty when I teach religion to children.

KRYLENKO: And you declare that you will continue to do so?

KHVETZKO: Yes, I will continue to do so.

(A pause. Father Khvetzko here sat down.)

KRYLENKO (*turning over his papers*): Let us go further. Now, the churches of the district of Petrograd. Accused Fedorov, you also have refused to sign the agreement?

FEDOROV: Yes.

KRYLENKO: Your church is that of St. Boniface?

FEDOROV: No; that of the Pentecost.

KRYLENKO: You admit the (accuracy of the) report of the depositions?

FEDOROV: Yes, for my own part.

KRYLENKO: You have refused to be present because your ecclesiastical superiors do not acknowledge the civil law on the subject of Church property?*

FEDOROV: Yes, for that very reason.

KRYLENKO: You refused to be present at the assembly of your parishioners, who had met to consider the form to be signed? Is that not true?

FEDOROV: Yes; it is true.

JUDGE GALKIN: Priest Budkiewicz, what have you to say to the charge against you?

MGR. BUDKIEWICZ: As a mediator, I have done my best to help the Government.

KRYLENKO (*pointing to his papers and speaking with ominous emphasis*): We shall see directly how you helped. (He then read out quotations from the minutes of the conferences of the Catholic clergy on the subject of the decree for the separation of Church and State.) These resolutions were adopted by all the clergy who took part in those meetings?

BUDKIEWICZ: Yes, by nearly all those here present. (He pointed to the benches on which the accused sat.)

Mgr. Budkiewicz was then questioned closely and with much hostility, and it was evident that the prosecution had

* Krylenko evidently referred to the signature of the receipt or agreement acknowledging the Soviet Government's occupation of Catholic Church property, which a council of twenty of each congregation had been asked to sign.

a particular animus against him as one of the leaders of the clergy.

The Prosecutor then interrogated the accused separately on the subject of the conferences of Catholic clergy which had taken place in Petrograd. Some of the priests said that they had never attended any of those conferences. Others admitted that they had attended several.

FEDOROV: I only took part in three conferences in the year 1919.

KRYLENKO: And what took place at those conferences?

FEDOROV: At one the code of Pius X was analyzed. At the other two there was prepared a draft form of receipt or agreement acceptable to us after the negotiations of the Soviet Government with the Holy See.

KRYLENKO: You find, then, that the laws of the Soviet Government are not acceptable to you as they stand?

FEDOROV: Only the laws on Church property, which we cannot dispose of without the authorization of our ecclesiastical superiors.

KRYLENKO: You hold this opinion even now?

FEDOROV: I hold it till an agreement is arrived at by the two parties.

KRYLENKO: You regard us as a party?

FEDOROV: Yes, I regard you as a party.

KRYLENKO: You consider the Soviet Government only as a party?

FEDOROV: When it issues laws touching Church property, then it is a party. According to my convictions——

JUDGE GALKIN: Your convictions don't interest us.

KRYLENKO: Then you are acting in complete accord with your superior, the accused Cieplak?

FEDOROV: Archbishop Cieplak is not my superior.

(General astonishment. All three judges looked at the Exarch with great surprise and interest. They expected him, apparently, next to repudiate the authority of Rome.)

KRYLENKO: To whom, then, are you subordinate?

FEDOROV: I am subordinate to the Metropolitan of Galicia, Andrew Sheptitsky.

KRYLENKO: Where is he?

FEDOROV: At Lvov.

(All interest died out on the faces of the judges and the Prosecutor, and was replaced by a cynical and suspicious expression.)

KRYLENKO (*significantly*): Ha! At Lvov!

(The judges and the Procurator exchanged meaning looks and smiles. Apparently they attached importance to the fact that the Exarch's ecclesiastical superior resides in Lvov, a Galician city at present in the possession of the Poles. The prosecution and the judges showed on many occasions, throughout the trial, that they suspected the anti-Bolshevik attitude taken up by the Archbishop, the Exarch, and the other clergy to be due to instructions emanating, directly or indirectly, from the Government of Warsaw, which is hated intensely by the Bolshevik authorities as well as by most Russians.)

KRYLENKO (*astonished*): What new variety is this? Tell us.

FEDOROV: We also are Catholics, but of another rite; the variety is of rites.*

KRYLENKO: There are no other differences?

FEDOROV: No.

KRYLENKO (*reading Fedorov's memorandum*): It was you who composed this?

FEDOROV: Yes, it was I. For five years I tried to get the Government to understand our point of view, but I have got no reply.

KRYLENKO (*bending over his documents and fumbling with them, as it was his habit to do*): Perfectly true. (He spoke in a loud and sarcastic tone of voice. Then, after a pause, during which he went on turning over his papers, he resumed.) Have you refused to sign the agreement?

FEDOROV: Yes.

KRYLENKO: You consider, then, that you are not obliged to carry out the law?

FEDOROV: I do carry out the Soviet law in so far as it does not run counter to my conscience.

KRYLENKO (*speaking very angrily and contemptuously*): Let us leave your conscience in peace! I ask you, in plain

* The Galician Church is a Uniat Church, of the Greco-Ruthenian as opposed to the Latin rite.

terms, do you obey the Soviet Government or do you not ?

FEDOROV: If the Soviet Government orders me to act against my conscience, I do not obey. As for teaching the Catechism, the Catholic Church lays it down that children must be taught their religion, no matter what the law says. Conscience is above the law. No law which is against the conscience can bind.

KRYLENKO: Ah !

GALKIN (*angrily*): We do not want to hear any more about your conscience. Your conscience does not interest us.

FEDOROV: But it interests me very much. (Sits down.)

(Similar statements by other priests about their conscience and similar angry interruptions by Krylenko and Judge Galkin occurred several times during the course of the trial.)

Father Matulianis was next examined. It appeared that no difficulties had arisen in his case over the removal of Church property. The accused admitted that he had taught children at his own residence. The Mass plate was his own property. He admitted that, after his church was closed, he had celebrated Mass in his private rooms. He was closely questioned on this point, and it was clear that the prosecution regarded the celebration of Mass under such circumstances as a crime. See the extract from the *Izvestia* of March 24, 1923, which I give in the Appendix. The *Izvestia* intimates that the surreptitious celebration of Mass is " a violation of the decree on the separation of Church and State." Nearly all the priests were questioned on this point during the course of the trial, and all who were thus questioned admitted that they had said Mass without official authorization. Krylenko also asked every priest if the sacred vessels he had used in such celebrations were his own property or property belonging to the Church, and therefore, in the opinion of the Bolsheviks, State property which should have been surrendered. All the priests said that the chalices, etc., which they used were their own property, having been presented to them by parishioners. Such presentations, they said, were customary; there was hardly a priest who had not had sacred vessels thus presented to him by members of his

congregation. Father Matulianis said that the sacred vessels which he used had been thus presented to him.

Father Maletzky admitted the same, except as regards giving religious instruction to children. Then Krylenko returned to Fedorov.

KRYLENKO: You have said Mass after the closing of the churches ?

FEDOROV: Yes.

KRYLENKO: Where ?

FEDOROV: In a flat in the house where I live.

KRYLENKO: How many people were present ?

FEDOROV: About twenty—from twenty to twenty-five people.

KRYLENKO: What about the sacred vessels you used on these occasions ?

FEDOROV: They were my own property.

GALKIN: Where were you educated ?

FEDOROV: Abroad. I was five years in the Papal college at Rome. The sixth year I passed in Anagni, the seventh at Freiburg in Switzerland.

GALKIN: When were you ordained priest ?

FEDOROV: I was ordained in 1911.

GALKIN: Do you belong to the Orthodox Church ?

FEDOROV: No, I am a Catholic and not Orthodox.

GALKIN: What is meant by Greco-Catholic ?

The Exarch explained that the Oriental rite in the Catholic Church was originally derived from the Greek.

KRYLENKO: Are you a Russian ?

FEDOROV: Yes, I am a Russian, born in Petrograd.

KRYLENKO: To what class do you belong ?

FEDOROV: I am the son of an artisan. My family belonged to the working class.

KRYLENKO: How were you able to pursue your studies abroad ?

FEDOROV: At first I drew partly on my own resources; but subsequently I obtained a subsidy from the Metropolitan, Andrew Sheptitsky.

The first examination of the Archbishop was begun by Krylenko at eleven o'clock on Thursday night, March 22, this late hour being, I am afraid, selected by the Procurator

because the principal prisoner, an old man of nearly seventy, was obviously tired out after a long day of nervous tension. A telegram sent by the Archbishop to Father Rutkovsky at Yaroslav was first taken up. This telegram read: " Demand illegal; do not deliver inventory." Krylenko declared that to send such a telegram was a counter-revolutionary act, and the Archbishop, who at once admitted that he had sent the telegram, said that, according to canon law, the demand *was* illegal.

The Archbishop was so tired that he could not stand upright, and had to cling for support to the back of M. Bobrishchev-Pushkin's chair, but neither on this occasion nor at any other time throughout the trial did Judge Galkin invite him to be seated when giving evidence.

But though his body was bent from fatigue his spirit did not bend, and Krylenko was unable to confuse him, or to make him contradict himself, or to make him swerve by a hair's breadth from the position he had taken up.

He withdrew nothing from his pastoral addressed to parents on the religious teaching of children, not even the attack which it contained on the Bolshevik legislation condemning such teaching.

The Archbishop's position is more clearly defined, however, in the long interrogatory to which he was subjected on Friday, and which I give in the next chapter.

CHAPTER VI

THE CIEPLAK TRIAL: THIRD DAY, FRIDAY, MARCH 23, 1923

This day began with a long discussion about canon law, a discussion which had been begun late on Thursday night, and in which the Archbishop had been the principal figure.

Krylenko had brought with him into court the latest edition of the new code of canon law, and, after having read extracts from it, he suddenly asked the Archbishop which law he would obey. The Archbishop said that he would obey the law of God. Then the presiding judge invited Archbishop Cieplak to tell them all about canon law, of which he, the judge, seemed to be quite ignorant. The Archbishop began by describing the canon law of the Roman Catholic Church as being " almost as old as the Church itself," and then he went on to give a history of it, pointing out how extensively it prevailed in medieval Europe, and what great names were associated with it.

The Archbishop spoke with obvious pride and enthusiasm, and anyone coming suddenly at that moment into the court, and not knowing beforehand what was going on there, might have been excused for thinking that he had stumbled accidentally into an ecclesiastical lecture-hall.

On many other occasions during the trial, the Catholic priests had an opportunity of preaching their religion such as had never before been accorded to them in Russia, and they made full use of it.

The judges and the Prosecutor listened in silence, and seemed to be impressed for a moment by the antiquity of this famous ecclesiastical code which laid the foundations of Western civilization long before Russia had come into existence.

When the Archbishop ceased speaking, Krylenko quoted

his circular on the confiscation of Church treasures, and cited him as saying that, according to the canons of the Church, "any Catholic who takes or gives away Church property, besides owing restitution (*i.e.*, compensation for what he has taken or given away without the Church's permission), is *ipso facto* excommunicated, and remains excommunicated unless he makes restitution as far as he is able."

KRYLENKO: Then you affirm that, in the sense of the canon cited, you could not order your clergy not to offer the Church treasures for the famine-stricken ?

THE ARCHBISHOP: Yes; and I beg you to take into account that neither could I order my clergy to give those treasures.

KRYLENKO: I make a note of that; but we shall see (*fumbling among his papers*). Was this decision promulgated by you ?

THE ARCHBISHOP: No, it was not; the faithful were familiar with all the circumstances.

Krylenko then tried his hardest to entrap the Archbishop into an admission that he was working for Poland, and that his endeavours to form the Roman Catholics in Russia into an autonomous organization possessing its own property were meant to help Poland and weaken Russia.

KRYLENKO: (*suddenly to the Archbishop*): Who is your superior ?

CIEPLAK: The Pope.

KRYLENKO: You are not under Poland ?

CIEPLAK: No; I am directly under the Pope.

KRYLENKO: No stage on the way between you and the Pope ? Do you depend in any manner on Warsaw ?

CIEPLAK: No; on Rome alone.

"What, then, does this mean ?" shouted Krylenko, with an air of great triumph, waving a letter which turned out eventually to be addressed to the Archbishop, and to bear the signature of Mgr. Lorenzo Lauri, titular Archbishop of Ephesus and Nuncio-Apostolic at Warsaw. This letter was to the effect that the Vatican advised him (Archbishop Cieplak) not to sign the agreement acknowledging the Bolshevik Government as owners of Catholic Church property.

There was excitement in the court. The Communists

grinned at one another knowingly. The sentries also grinned.

Walking across to the dock with his habitual mincing gait, due apparently to tight boots, Krylenko showed the letter to the Archbishop, who at once admitted its authenticity. (Had the prisoners admitted nothing and forced the prosecution to prove every point, the case would, under any ordinary system of legal procedure, have been going on yet, with no prospect of its ever being decided against them; but, instead of being grateful to them for their assistance, Krylenko was angry with them for not admitting more, and exhibited this anger several times by accusing them of "Jesuitical" crookedness and cunning.)

Then Krylenko, having walked back to his own place, after having let the judges have a glimpse of the letter, began to read. "Polish Nunciature, Warsaw," he began; but the Archbishop at once corrected him. "Not 'Polish,' but 'Apostolic,'" he said courteously. "The Apostolic Nuncio in Warsaw is an Italian, the diplomatic representative of His Holiness in Poland, and has nothing to do with Polish politics."

A little put out, Krylenko brought the document closer to his eyes, and then showed it to a Polish Communist, probably Leszczyński, who had seated himself, a few moments before, beside Bykov, and remained there till the end of the trial, probably as the court interpreter. Finally, he accepted the correction with an ill grace, adding in a discontented voice: "Oh, not Polish, is he? How did you manage to correspond with him?"

The Archbishop explained that he had written to the Pope direct on the subject of Church property, but that the answer came to him *via* Warsaw; why, he could not say.

The Public Prosecutor then questioned Mgr. Cieplak closely as to how he had communicated with Rome. "Was it through the English Mission?" he asked plausibly.

The Archbishop said it was not through the English Mission. He had sent the letter referred to through a private channel by permission of Krasikov. Sometimes he wrote to Rome by the ordinary post.

KRYLENKO (*incredulously and sarcastically*): You mean

to tell me that you sometimes dropped into the Petrograd pillar-boxes letters addressed to the Pope of Rome, and that those letters reached their destination? (Laughter, in which the judges joined.)

It was not a bad joke, for a camel would have as much chance of passing through the eye of a needle as such a letter would have of passing through the Bolshevik post-office and reaching Pius XI; and the Procurator immediately proceeded to cap this by a joke equally good, though this time an unconscious one. He complained pathetically that the Archbishop never sent any of his letters to Russia through the Bolshevik Commissariat of Foreign Affairs, although there was a Bolshevik representative in Rome. Not to mention the fact that this Bolshevik representative, the Comrade Vorovsky, who was murdered a few months afterwards at Lausanne, was accredited to the Quirinal, and not to the Vatican, it was obvious that such a channel of communication was in the highest degree suspect. In fact, the one important letter which the Papal Secretariat of State had, by way of experiment only, sent through Vorovsky bore indisputable traces of having been opened *en route*.

The Archbishop might, of course, have sent letters to Rome without addressing them directly to the Pope, but on this point he kept his counsel. "There are two ways of communicating with Rome," he said vaguely—"through the Narkomindel (People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs) and through private channels."

And, before leaving this subject, I might here add that no man in his senses would ever dream of sending an important letter through the Bolshevik post, much less through the Bolshevik official courier. The only letters I ever sent by either of those routes were letters I particularly wanted the Bolsheviks to read; and all the other correspondents sent their letters through the diplomatic missions (not the English Mission, which always refused to send such letters) and the relief missions, though we afterwards ascertained that some of those privileged bags were being used as mouse-traps by the G.P.U., which was in the habit of opening them and sealing them again with false seals. The G.P.U. also

had foreign couriers in its service, and sometimes even the foreign relief officials, through whose hands mail-bags from Moscow passed, not only inside but even outside Russia.

The documents which Krylenko produced this day, and which he made use of later on, when he examined Budkiewicz, have, most of them, been mentioned in the statement of accusation. They were: (1) the Archbishop's circular of January 3, 1922, giving instructions on the relations between Church and State. As this circular had been issued before the decree of confiscation appeared, it could not very well be regarded as evidence for the prosecution. (2) The Archbishop's circular letter of March 20, 1922, appealing to parents to teach their children religion. (3) A letter of Archbishop Ropp dealing with the question of Church goods, and with the question of entering into agreements with the Soviet Government. As Archbishop Ropp was not in the dock, and as those who were in the dock had taken a line diametrically different to that which he had taken, it was difficult to see what business his letter had in court. (4) A letter signed by Archbishop Cieplak, and dated September 12, 1919, saying simply that Church property belongs to the Church. (5) A few private letters of no importance. (6) Alleged minutes of the clerical meetings referred to in the statement of accusation, and held under the presidency of Archbishop Cieplak. (7) Several memos. written by Mgr. Budkiewicz to the effect that records of births, marriages, and deaths should not be handed over to the authorities. Also, two reports written by Mgr. Budkiewicz—one about signing the agreement, the other a number of historical notes on the separation of Church and State in Russia—a few private letters, and a telegram of congratulation addressed to the Regent's Council of Poland on July 18, 1918, on the occasion of the consecration of the new Polish Mission in Moscow. Archbishop Ropp, Mgr. Budkiewicz, and Father Zielinski signed this telegram, which was sent openly through the Bolshevik telegraph office five years ago, and which was as harmless as a congratulatory cablegram sent to America on any Fourth of July by the English-Speaking Union of London. I publish it in Appendix IX. ("The Bolshevik Pamphlet").

Krylenko first read the instructions issued by the Archbishop on the necessity of unremittingly teaching religion to children.

KRYLENKO (*sternly*): Has this document been circulated?

THE ARCHBISHOP: No, it has only been communicated to the administrative section. . . . I kept always to the canonical point of view, and this document explains that point of view.

Krylenko then read the Archbishop's instruction to the priests, directing them to read it (*i.e.*, the pastoral letter on education) in the churches. He showed the document to the Archbishop. "Is this yours?" he asked.

THE ARCHBISHOP: Yes, it is mine.

KRYLENKO: Why do you send out such communications?

THE ARCHBISHOP: I am not only the administrator of my diocese, but also its teacher. My duty——

KRYLENKO (*interrupting*): That will do. I understand your intimate motives, but another thing interests me at present. The law decrees that the school is separated from the Church, consequently——

THE ARCHBISHOP: But the Church is not only bricks and mortar, the house of prayer; it is also the house of study, of religious study.

KRYLENKO: Now you are struggling against the requirements of the law. Any attempt to withdraw oneself from the operation of such and such a law is a political act.

THE ARCHBISHOP: No, a religious act in this case. We struggle for our religious rights. We see what is now becoming of the children. We demand the right to bring our influence to bear on the children in a legal way——

KRYLENKO: We will not enter into a discussion on the subject. You regard the Catholic churches, then, as places reserved exclusively for the teaching of the Catholic Church?

THE ARCHBISHOP: Yes, that is my position.

KRYLENKO: I beg the clerk of the court to note the fact that the (Catholic) churches are places devoted to the teaching of Catholic doctrines exclusively. If I went on Sunday to the church and started answering the preacher, that would be, from your point of view, a sacrilegious interruption?

THE ARCHBISHOP (*with animation and emphasis*): Yes! Yes!

Meanwhile the proceedings were lengthened by the most irrelevant discussions, Krylenko even asking Fedorov, a Catholic priest who had never been a priest in the Orthodox Church, how Orthodox Bishops had formerly been nominated.

Arising out of the evidence of the accused, a discussion took place on the difficult position of the Catholic Church in Russia in the time of the Monarchy. Krylenko was anxious to know who used to nominate and confirm the Bishops, Catholic and Orthodox. Archbishop Cieplak informed him as regards the Catholic Church. On the Orthodox Bishops, Krylenko questioned Fedorov.

KRYLENKO: Perhaps Citizen Fedorov will tell us who nominated the Orthodox Bishops, for instance, for the Synod?

FEDOROV: The Procurator-General nominated whomsoever it seemed good to him, and the higher authorities confirmed his choice.

KRYLENKO: Accused Cieplak, what is your opinion on the subject of the October Revolution and of the Soviet Government?

THE ARCHBISHOP: We were much pleased with the revolution. It set us free. Under the old *régime* we were hampered, limited in our religious rights.

KRYLENKO: And how does the Government treat you in other countries?

THE ARCHBISHOP: In all free countries—for example, in America—the Government treats us with consideration.

KRYLENKO: What is it that gives the Catholic clergy so strong an influence over the minds of the faithful? Are not the schools your principal means?

THE ARCHBISHOP: Not only the schools, but, above all, our teaching of the truth, of the moral precepts of Christ, the influence of the faith and of divine grace. . . .

KRYLENKO: Let us talk of things a man can understand. We see clearly that, by your teaching about torments in the other world, you frighten and mystify the ignorant and the children. Now, the terrorization of the ignorant is political action.

THE ARCHBISHOP: We terrorize nobody. We have only to do with the faith and with free will. If anyone weakens in the faith, it is my duty to strengthen him. This is religious, not political, action. If even one of the White Guards (under my religious jurisdiction) were against the faith, I would excommunicate him.

KRYLENKO: How do you treat a power which forbids you to teach children ?

THE ARCHBISHOP: If our right to teach children is taken from us by force, we submit to nothing but iron necessity.

KRYLENKO: That is your personal opinion, I take it ?

THE ARCHBISHOP: I speak in the name of us all, of all Catholic believers.

KRYLENKO: But the believers are the people. What good, therefore, was it to resist when all Church property had been declared to be the property of the people ?

THE ARCHBISHOP: The " twenty " were not chosen from amongst the believers alone, while, according to the canons of the Church, ecclesiastical property is at the disposal of the Dean only.

(The Archbishop was evidently alluding to the councils or Soviets of twenty laymen which the Soviet Government ordered to be formed in each church in order to sign an agreement with the Bolshevik authorities, acknowledging the latter as owners of the church, the congregation being only tenants).

KRYLENKO: What real obstacle was there in this body of twenty men ?

THE ARCHBISHOP: The " twenty " violated the right of the Catholic believers and of the Dean of the parish by preventing them from being the religious executants of the canons of their Church.

KRYLENKO: In one word, the twenty broke the unity of the Church organization ?

THE ARCHBISHOP: Yes, and in the Orthodox Church, thanks to these twenties, unity has been broken, as we see at present.

KRYLENKO: Then these twenties destroy that absolute power of the churches over the faithful which existed up to the present ?

THE ARCHBISHOP: No, not absolute.

KRYLENKO: Thanks to the position so held by the Church amongst the faithful, a hostile disposition of mind towards the orders of the Government was being formed. Is this not so ?

THE ARCHBISHOP: Not hostile. I should rather say that the faithful were grieved.

KRYLENKO: H'm ! Well, grieved if you like. Is this feeling of grievance a political fact, or is it not ?

THE ARCHBISHOP: Not political.

KRYLENKO: In the letter of your chief, Ropp, there is something said about the approaching fall of the Soviet power. What is your opinion on that point ? Do you think the Soviet Government will last for a long time or not ?

THE ARCHBISHOP: I have always been of opinion that it would last for a long time. This is my unvarying personal opinion.

(Interval of quarter of an hour.)

Krylenko then quoted the reports of the parish meetings, and the lists of those present. Addressing Mgr. Budkiewicz, he said: " You don't deny that these persons were present at the meeting ?"

BUDKIEWICZ: If their names are written there, I do not deny it.

Then the Procurator charged Father Eismont with expressing, and having, the intention of only giving the Government copies of the parish registers.

KRYLENKO: These were your words ?

EISMONT: Yes, those were my words.

KRYLENKO: Then you regard as not binding the formal requirements of the law on the subject of baptismal registers?

EISMONT: I held that it was necessary for me to protest against the complete confiscation of the registers.

With regard to Father Khvetzko, Krylenko expressed the opinion that the parish committee which that priest had formed was an illegal organization.

When Khvetzko showed, by means of sundry documents included in the *dossier* of the trial, that the parish committee conformed with the law in all respects, Krylenko said that "the fact that the parish committee was registered

is no proof that its activities were legal." Mgr. Budkiewicz was then questioned regarding the decision of the priests to offer from the pulpit an antidote to the Bolshevik "poison" and to warn Catholics of the prohibition against joining the Communists (see p. 157).

KRYLENKO: This struggle from the pulpit, do you regard it as a political struggle?

BUDKIEWICZ: No, I do not. It is a religious matter.

PRESIDENT: Can one of the faithful answer a priest in the church?

CIEPLAK: No; we do not argue there.

KRYLENKO: Then, teaching in the church cannot be criticized?

CIEPLAK: No; the church is a sacred place.

Krylenko then spoke of the stirring up of hatred against the Soviet Government.

CIEPLAK: Our religion forbids hatred. Our religion teaches us to pray for our enemies. We want to draw all mankind to us.

The accused then drew a distinction between the struggle with atheism and a political struggle against the Soviet Government, of which they had been accused. It was a duty of their ministry, they said, to fight against atheism, but they had not the right to engage in a political struggle.

At this point the Archbishop sat down, and immediately afterwards Father Khodnevich arose, voluntarily, to tell Galkin how, exactly, Rome regards Communism. He maintained that the Catholic Church in Russia has never attacked Communism as a political party. The Church simply lays down the law that, whereas the Bolshevik party is anti-Christian and cuts off at once any of its adepts who go to church, in like manner any Catholic who becomes a Bolshevik ceases automatically to be a member of the Church. Catholicism only considers the Bolshevik theory in so far as it affects religion.

Thus Father Khodnevich, whose voice was very loud and rasping, and whose manner was most dogmatic; Galkin was soon overwhelmed, whereupon Krylenko came to his assistance, and finally both Galkin and Krylenko became very angry.

As the Archbishop did not seem to like this controversial foray of his subordinate, the latter finally sat down, and listened in silence to the sharp rebuff which the chief judge administered to him.

I have spoken in a preceding chapter of one old priest who faltered. He was Father * * *, who gave his age as fifty-four, but who looked twenty years older. A physiognomist would probably have inferred from the severe lines of his face and the set expression of the mouth that he was a man of great mental concentration and will-power, but these lines and that expression were probably the result of ill-health, for, under a severe cross-examination by Krylenko, Father * * * became confused, and for some moments his mind seemed unable to function. Judge Galkin took over the cross-examination; but the prisoner was unable to answer a simple question which was unimportant in itself, and could only repeat "I am a Catholic priest." Finally Galkin told him, in a not unkindly tone, to sit down. There was a short adjournment soon after; and, when * * * returned to the dock, I noticed that he no longer sat in his old place, but between two strong and sunny spirits, both of them young and with a superabundance of humour and vitality—Edward Yunevich and the Exarch Fedorov. At all subsequent sittings, he was always seen between these two; and when, on Palm Sunday, he was asked what he had to say before sentence was passed on him, he spoke as firmly and coherently as the others.

This little incident touched me. It reminded me of cases about which I had read somewhere in the lives of the early martyrs, cases in which brave mothers braced up their trembling boys to reject the smooth-spoken offers of the tempter, and to greet death as a bride; in which young men encouraged aged parents whose physical weakness brought with it indecision of mind; in which the strong shepherded the feeble past the judgment-seat to that temporal doom which brought with it an eternal reward.

The next point raised by the prosecution was the resolution passed by the conference of Catholic priests held in Petrograd on January 8, 1920, to the effect " that it is impossible for Catholics to belong to the Communist Party." On this point

Galkin questioned Father Khodnevich, and the latter explained his point of view in clear and temperate language. Then Krylenko took over the examination.

KRYLENKO: Is it permissible to criticize your sermons in church ?

KHODNEVICH: Sermons do not admit of discussion. When the sermon is over, anyone can come to me, ask me what he wishes, and criticize me as much as he likes.

KRYLENKO: We do not care in the least what happens in your own house. You think you can set up a monopoly of propaganda in the pulpit, and carry on a struggle of ideas by working on an ignorant and irresponsible crowd. That is what really does concern us.

The Procurator then passed on to the discussion of a little diocesan magazine, the *Moghilev Diocesan Chronicle*, which Father Chaevsky had produced by lithographic process. This paper was apparently a purely religious publication, much more so than English parish and diocesan magazines, which often treat of politics, in so far at least as politics bear on Church matters. Krylenko exhibited a copy of this humble little periodical, and then read a number of extracts from it.

The whole afternoon was occupied with a close examination of Mgr. Budkiewicz on the basis of unimportant letters seized in his house, but which Budkiewicz explained that he had taken no pains to hide because he did not consider them compromising.

Mgr. Budkiewicz kept very cool throughout and spoke in a low voice inaudible at the other end of the hall, but perfectly audible on the platform, where alone audibility was necessary, for he was never once asked to repeat what he had said. The evidence produced showed him to be a good man of business, as he required to be, bearing as he did on his shoulders all the administration of a diocese extending over nearly all Russia and Siberia, but it did not prove him to be dishonest or self-seeking or an intriguer.

Having no evidence against Budkiewicz, Krylenko tried to make him incriminate himself, and was rather annoyed with him because he did not do so; in fact, Krylenko spoke with some bitterness, afterwards, of Budkiewicz's " Jesuitical

cunning." The Monsignor was, as a matter of fact, transparently honest, but even had he been consummately cunning, all that cunning would have availed nothing against the brutal injustice of the court.

It was useless for him to point out that much of the evidence adduced against him was in reality against Archbishop Ropp,* who was not in Russia. The court replied that it made no difference; both he and Ropp had advocated open hostility to the Soviet Government. One of the charges was that the Catholics had been ordered by Archbishop Ropp to change their attitude from "active" to "passive" resistance; but Mgr. Budkiewicz pointed out that, as was explained further on in the Polish document from which the judge was reading, the phrase "active resistance" meant the presenting of petitions to the Soviet authorities, the protesting in legal form, etc. The Prosecutor had then to admit that he had mistranslated the Polish text. On this and the next two days attempts were made to show that Mgr. Budkiewicz had shown Polish tendencies and supported the Polish Government. Thus, a telegram signed by Ropp, Budkiewicz, and Zielinsky, expressing satisfaction at the opening of the Polish Mission in Moscow, after the war, was described by Krylenko as a case of criminal communication with a foreign power, though obviously the telegram had no political meaning whatsoever. Another charge was that Mgr. Budkiewicz had received money from Poland. Mgr. Budkiewicz denied this, but admitted that he had drafted a letter which he had "probably intended to send to Zarnowski, the Moscow representative of the Polish Government," asking him to suggest to Warsaw that it might guarantee a loan of 400,000 roubles received by the church of St. Catherine from various private persons. The letter in question was read by Krylenko, but Mgr. Budkiewicz denied that it had ever been sent.†

* Archbishop Ropp of Petrograd had been imprisoned by the Soviet Government, but was finally exchanged for one of the Russian Bolshevik leaders, Karl Radek, I think, who happened to be at the same time in custody at Berlin. The Archbishop is now living in Warsaw.

† This letter, and also the letter of Vassilevsky, are given in the Bolshevik pamphlet; but, even as given there, they do not seem to

Krylenko also read a letter from a John Vassilevsky, said to be in Poland, who wrote as follows: " Please let me have a list of the debts which you are prepared to pay. I must give them to-morrow to Pavlovski, who returns to-morrow to Moscow."

Mgr. Budkiewicz said that this letter did not belong to him; and though Mgr. Budkiewicz's name did not appear in it, Krylenko maintained that it had been addressed to him, because (1) it began with the words " Dear Monsignor "; (2) it had been found among Mgr. Budkiewicz's papers; (3) some financial calculations in the Monsignor's handwriting had been scribbled on the back of the letter.

Bobrishchev-Pushkin had strongly objected to this letter being read at all, as the evidence was insufficient to connect it with Budkiewicz; but Galkin had overruled him, as he overruled every other objection Bobrishchev-Pushkin made during the trial.

There was also produced a report about the trunks and other effects found in the lumber-room of the house where Mgr. Budkiewicz lived. That priest explained that several of his parishioners had begged him to let them put their trunks and bundles into the lumber-room during their absence from Petrograd, and that he had permitted them to do so. Krylenko's object in dragging the lumber-room into the case was to show that it contained trunks belonging to Polish " hostages " whom the Reds had seized in 1918, and to a certain Polish princess. But as these " hostages " were admittedly innocent people, and as Polish princesses are as common as British O.B.E.'s, the point was not an important one.

Here was a trial on the capital charge of trying to overthrow a Government, yet instead of bringing forward evidence of conspiracy, espionage, smuggled arms, midnight drilling, and subversive propaganda, the Public Prosecutor

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me of any legal value. See Appendix IX, where I give every word which the Bolsheviks say on this matter, though I do not guarantee that what they say is true, for the letters were read too quickly for me to catch all of them. For that reason I do not reproduce those letters here.

talked about a lumber-room, and quoted from a diocesan magazine of a very mild and devotional character.

It is true that the Red newspapers which I cite in Appendix I speak with bated breath of the *Moghilev Diocesan Chronicle's* profoundly subversive and reactionary character, but they do not quote a single word from it, and were afraid to publish stenographic reports of this trial, or any sort of reports save very vague, general, and inaccurate articles.

Krylenko afterwards went on to read letters and circulars of Archbishop Ropp, though that prelate was then in Berlin, and not on his trial, his (Krylenko's) object being avowedly to discredit Mgr. Budkiewicz in the eyes of the court, though Mgr. Budkiewicz had had nothing to do with the composition of those documents (with some political observations in which he was not, he said, in agreement). This whole attempt of the prosecution to produce a hostile atmosphere seemed absurdly unnecessary, for obviously the court was as prejudiced against the prisoners as it could possibly be, and there was no jury. It was much the same as if, when trying to convict a foreign journalist or a foreign merchant, under that article of the Criminal Code which makes it death to indulge in "activities which tend to support any section of the international bourgeoisie," Krylenko were to quote anti-Bolshevik passages from editorials in the journalist's newspaper or from the chairman's report at a meeting in, say, the Cannon Street Hotel, of the merchant's Limited Liability Company.

Krylenko continued to read the reports found at Mgr. Budkiewicz's house, as well as letters sent to him by Archbishop Ropp, dealing, for instance, with the "change from a defensive attitude to an offensive one." He wanted to know what Archbishop Ropp meant by the sentence: "Bolshevism is still dragging on its existence, and we do not know when it will end." (Excitement and laughter in court.)

BUDKIEWICZ: I did not consider that all the opinions of Archbishop Ropp were strictly canonical, in particular his opinion as to concluding the agreements before obtaining the permission of the Pope. I called that step fictitious—

that is, a signature which was not authorized would be fictitious, in my opinion.

KRYLENKO: What did you mean by saying "To defend ourselves by resistance rather than by obedience"?

BUDKIEWICZ: I was thinking of the agreements.

In one circular letter, Archbishop Ropp spoke of the parochial committees being kept in existence till Russia had outlived her revolutionary period, and ordinary, civilized life was possible. This phrase was read with great gusto by Krylenko, who seemed to regard it as a veritable nail in Mgr. Budkiewicz's coffin.

KRYLENKO: I notice that there is a contradiction between the circulars of April 2 and January 12. You first agreed to sign, and then decided not to sign. Why these changes?

In one letter which Archbishop Ropp had written to Mgr. Budkiewicz from Berlin, the Archbishop expressed the view that the Soviet Government would not last long. "I have too good an opinion of the Russian people to think so," added the writer; and the reading of this phrase provoked much laughter in court. Commenting on this phrase, Krylenko said that "Ropp's hope as to the short duration of the Soviet Government has not been realized." "The agreement will not be signed." This phrase, said Krylenko, occurred in different clerical documents exhibited in court. Krylenko spent a good deal of time showing, by quotations from the letters, that all the priests had refused to sign.

Archbishop Cieplak replied on the question of the procession (which took place in the Nevsky Prospect some five years ago and which was caused by the arrest of Archbishop Ropp). It went as far as 5, Gorochovaya Street, and then dispersed.

(Interval.)

After the interval Krylenko read the extracts from the *Moghilev Diocesan Chronicle* concerning the religious procession which the Petrograd Catholics had held in the streets in 1918.*

* This was a procession of the laity organized as a protest against the arrest of Archbishop Ropp and several priests who had been seized as hostages. It marched to the house in Gorochovaya Street, where the Archbishop was kept under arrest. See Appendix I, *Pravda* March 25.

BISHOP KESSLER OF SARATOV.

MGR. ANTONIO OKOLO-KULAK.

ARCHBISHOP VON ROPP OF MOGHILEV.

KRYLENKO: Accused Cieplak, did you take part in the procession?

CIEPLAK: No, I only celebrated divine service [in the church of St. Catherine, before the procession started].

KRYLENKO: Did any of the priests take part in the procession?

CIEPLAK: No.

KRYLENKO: Who carried the cross, then?

CIEPLAK: The people carried it themselves.

Krylenko read a document entitled "Memorandum on the Separation of Church and State in Bolshevik Russia." Then he read the draft protest against the regulations which appeared after the publication of the decree on the separation of Church and State. He read the names of Kuznetzov and Fedorov, and then he asked: "Citizen Fedorov, is this the same Kuznetzov [an Orthodox priest] who was tried and was sentenced to be shot for organizing resistance to the Soviet authority?"

FEDOROV: Yes, this is the same Kuznetzov.

KRYLENKO: He was condemned for incitement to acts of destruction?

FEDOROV: I do not know why he was sentenced. I was only asked to join him in preparing the draft protest against the regulations issued under the decree for the separation of Church and State.

KRYLENKO: Kuznetzov was condemned later on.

FEDOROV: I have nothing to do with what happened later on. I made his acquaintance in 1918, in connection with the draft protest against the promulgation of the regulations. There had been conversations about the law of separation not only among Catholics themselves, but between Catholics on the one side and, on the other, Orthodox Christians and Jews.

KRYLENKO: All right. We will only note at present the fact of this acquaintance.

Proceeding to the question of the meetings of the Orthodox clergy jointly with the Catholic clergy, Krylenko said to all the prisoners: "Can anyone here tell us about that, no matter who? Is it a fact that these meetings took place?"

FEDOROV: As I had more to do with these meetings than anyone else I can recollect the matter. When we received the regulations [a Soviet Government circular], from which it appeared that we could no longer marry or baptize without previous registration at the Commissariat, we saw clearly that here was an attack on our sacred rights. . . .

KRYLENKO: Allow me. To whom was this circular sent ?

FEDOROV: It was sent to us.

KRYLENKO: But it was not made public ?

FEDOROV: No.

* * * * *

FEDOROV: With respect to the organization of the Orthodox committees in conjunction with Catholics, I urged that course, but failed, I know not why.

Concluding the examination of Mgr. Budkiewicz's papers concerning meetings for the consideration of the decree on the separation of Church and State, Krylenko asked: " Citizen Budkiewicz, admit that this is an organized plan of campaign for opposition to the direct orders of the law."

BUDKIEWICZ: No, I do not admit it. These were only deliberations as to our future action, with a view to reconciling the decree with the regulations, and to finding a *modus vivendi*. Our point of view was religious, and not political.

Then Krylenko charged Budkiewicz with having been anxious to get a letter of protection for his church from the Danish Red Cross and from the Polish Mission, as well as to obtain for himself a Polish passport from the representative of the Polish Regent's Council, and a letter of protection from Count Mirbach, the German Minister in Moscow.*

KRYLENKO: What has German nationality to do with the Polish Church ?

BUDKIEWICZ: There is no Polish Church. The Catholic Church is international; it contains German Catholics and Catholics of all other nations. At that time the nationality of a great many people was uncertain.

* I deal with this point in my translation of the Bolshevik pamphlet. See Appendix IX.

Krylenko finished reading the documents, quoting the following sentences: "The time has now come when they pay attention to the public opinion of Europe." "The Bolsheviks will have a better opinion of the Catholics who protest than of those who yield."

KRYLENKO: What is the meaning of all this diplomacy and strategy?

BUDKIEWICZ: The documents seem to me to explain the situation fully and clearly. All depends on the fact that we acted throughout in view of the legal understanding [between the Soviet Government and the Holy See] which we were expecting; everything that follows from that bears the same legal and legitimate construction.

Krylenko then examined the documents relating to the blessing of the Polish Embassy near the church of SS. Peter and Paul (in Moscow, where a service was held for the purpose), the banquet, the speeches, the telegram sent to the Polish Government, the signatures of Ropp, Lednitsky, Budkiewicz—all this was laid against Budkiewicz as constituting relations with an enemy State, after he had become a Russian subject. From the argument which followed on the subject of the relations of the Sovnarkom (Council of National Commissars) with the Pope, Krylenko deduced that a communication was received through Krasikov, head of the fifth section of the Narkomjust (People's Commissariat of Justice), which stated that no reply had yet been received from the Pope, and that one could only judge of the decision to be taken by Rome with regard to Russian Catholics in the light of the conduct of Catholics in Petrograd.

Thus ended the third day of the trial. I reproduce in Appendix I ("Bolshevik Pamphlet") the congratulatory telegram to the Polish Government which Mgr. Budkiewicz signed, and the letter asking for guarantees on which Krylenko laid such stress; and I have already pointed out that this matter is not even mentioned in the statement of accusation. If its results were not tragic, this procedure would raise a smile; it is like trying a man for embezzlement, and then, without altering the indictment or producing any evidence worthy of the name, suddenly sentencing him to

death for poisoning his wife. On such occasions it is certainly a great convenience to have no jury. Krylenko had undoubtedly been warned at about this stage, by somebody with a good knowledge of public opinion in England and America—probably by Litvinov—that the essentially anti-religious character of the trial must be camouflaged, that by hook or crook Poland must be dragged in.

CHAPTER VII

THE CIEPLAK TRIAL: FOURTH DAY, SATURDAY, MARCH 24, 1923

At the beginning of the proceedings on this day the Archbishop informed the court that he had received some time back from the Holy See permission to sign a form of agreement which had been communicated by the Vatican to Vorovsky, the representative of the Soviet Government in Rome, and by him, the Archbishop, to the Petrograd Ispolkom (Executive Committee). These communications had been made three weeks before the trial, so that it is difficult to see why the trial took place at all, and why the Petrograd Ispolkom took no notice whatever of this most important intelligence. The new formula differed very little from the old. It had been arrived at in the course of indirect, prolonged negotiations between the Vatican and Krasikov, head of the religious section in the Commissariat of Justice, and Krasikov had offered no objection to it.

I will give the rest of the Archbishop's statement in his own words.

Archbishop Cieplak: With regard to the relief of the starving, I immediately issued a circular appeal in order to render this assistance on our side. In principle I was far from opposed to all valuables being taken for the benefit of the starving. The Catholic Church has often done this, but I could not dispose of those valuables myself, because they had only been entrusted to me for safe keeping. I wished to come to an arrangement with the Soviet Government, and was willing to do everything possible, within the limits of my canonical duty, to help the starving and to avoid misunderstandings. I sent a telegram to the Holy Father, and received the reply [*i.e.*, from the Vatican] that the Pope had ordered all valuables to be sold and (the proceeds) to be

handed to the representative of the Soviet Government at the Vatican through Comrade Chicherin. From this reply of the Holy Father, it is plain that he sets no store by riches if it is possible to help the starving. Unfortunately we have received no answer [*i.e.*, from the Soviet Government]. What was I to do ?

The advocate Bobrishchev-Pushkin asked: " And is there any public aid organized now [*i.e.*, by the Vatican for the relief of the famine-stricken in Russia] ?"

CIEPLAK: The Catholic Church has contributed generously to famine relief in Russia, and we ought, I think, to be very grateful for this help. The foreign newspapers print long lists of contributions by Church institutions.

B.-PUSHKIN: How much food has been sent to the starving people ?

CIEPLAK: Forty van-loads.

B.-PUSHKIN: Was the Soviet Government aware of your applications to the Vatican ?

CIEPLAK: The fifth section of the Narkomjust is well aware of it. We sent delegates several times, especially to Comrade Krasikov, saying that there was an acceptable form of agreement for solving the question.

KRYLENKO: You issued the circular as to the impossibility of an agreement. " No arrangements "—that was your expression.

CIEPLAK: That was later on. . . .

KRYLENKO: What happened after the churches were closed ?

CIEPLAK: We sent a deputation to Moscow [to ask leave to reopen them]; at the Smolny Institute [Bolshevik headquarters in Petrograd] we [had previously] met with a refusal.

KRYLENKO: Did any priests take part in this deputation ?

CIEPLAK: No; only members of the congregations.

KRYLENKO: Then the clergy did not make any application ? Only the congregations took steps privately ? Was there a meeting ? What part did the clergy play ?

CIEPLAK: Two lay representatives were chosen.

KRYLENKO: To whom did these private individuals go ?

CIEPLAK: To the head of the section.

KRYLENKO: What did they ask for ?

CIEPLAK: That the churches should be reopened.

KRYLENKO: All the churches ?

CIEPLAK: All, and for ever.

KRYLENKO: What reply did they receive ?

CIEPLAK: " The churches will be reopened if you sign the agreement." This reply was forwarded to the Holy Father.

KRYLENKO: How ?

CIEPLAK: Through the Papal Mission.

KRYLENKO: And you have reported [*i.e.*, to the Government] that you have received the reply [*i.e.*, from Holy See] ?

CIEPLAK: No, because I already knew that the Government was aware of the reply.

KRYLENKO: I ask leave of the court to put in an official report of the fifth section of the Narkomjust on the subject of these negotiations. So, clergy and faithful, you act in agreement ?

CIEPLAK: Yes, in agreement. We are always of one mind; we are united in a common misfortune.

Krasikov, the head of the fifth section of the Narkomjust, was sitting close behind Krylenko at the moment this dialogue was being carried on, but the Procurator did not think it necessary to turn round and ask him for an explanation. The court, however, applied formally to the fifth section for an explanation, and it received the same evening, from Krasikov's department, a formal denial that the Narkomjust knew anything of the matter " officially." Yet Dr. Walsh had had no less than three letters from Krasikov discussing the permission to sign, permission which had been given by the Pope to the Archbishop in the form of a telegram from Cardinal Gasparri. This telegram Dr. Walsh had shown to Krasikov three or four weeks before the trial, and it was on the suggestion of Krasikov that Dr. Walsh had afterwards gone to Petrograd in order to communicate the good news to the Archbishop; but Dr. Walsh found to his surprise that the Petrograd Soviet did not now want the Archbishop to sign—did not help him, in other words, to comply with the requirements of the law. The

Smolny Institute had, in fact, determined to prevent him signing, so that it could wreak its vengeance on him.*

Owing to Krasikov's declaration that he knew nothing "officially" of the Archbishop's offer to sign three weeks before the trial, this vitally important point was ignored in the subsequent proceedings. Krylenko refused to take cognizance of it.

Apparently the Bolsheviks do not like disputes to be peacefully arranged. As we have already seen, they refused to let either the Pope or the Patriarch pay in cash for the confiscated Eucharistic vessels, though they have failed to sell these vessels themselves, and though their refusal involved a conflict with both the Eastern and the Western Church.

Krylenko asked Fedorov for explanations of his memorandum on the regulations under the decree for the separation of Church and State. This memorandum was annexed to the documents in the case.

FEDOROV: The fifth section asked me to co-operate with Archbishop Ropp in drawing up a plan for the application of this decree to practical life. We were much pleased at the request, and Archbishop Ropp was satisfied with such a result. I often spoke on this subject to Bonch-Bruevich and Kursky. They assured me that no commentary on the decree would be published without our co-operation. Then, suddenly, we saw that all this was not adhered to. Regulations containing contradictory orders were issued, and we found ourselves in a strange position. We did not know which to obey, the decree or the regulations. No reply was given to all our enquiries until the question about this agreement arose. Of course I protested against the confiscation [of the Church valuables] because I have not the right to dispose of those objects. Personally, however, I was of opinion that all the valuables should be handed over, but at the same time no violation of the sanctuary can be tolerated.

THE PRESIDENT: When did you go over to Catholicism?

FEDOROV: In 1902.

THE PRESIDENT: In Italy?

* See Appendix V, "The Relations between the Vatican and the Kremlin."

FEDOROV: No, in Switzerland.

THE PRESIDENT: Where were you born?

FEDOROV: I was born in Petrograd.

THE PRESIDENT: You are the son of an artisan?

FEDOROV: Yes, the son of an artisan. My father was a master-cook. He was careful and saved money, so that after his death my mother had 15,000 roubles. She gave me 1,500 roubles as my share, and on that sum I studied for some years.

THE PRESIDENT: You belonged to the corporation [of cooks]?

FEDOROV: Yes, so it is stated on my passport.

THE PRESIDENT: But the Moscow cooks owned motor-cars, houses, etc.

FEDOROV: Perhaps, but I can only say that we did not. I might have liked to own motor-cars and houses, but there were none. (Laughter in court.) My grandfather was a serf.

THE PRESIDENT: And you became a Catholic from conviction?

FEDOROV: Of course.

Then Fedorov addressed the Procurator:

May I ask the Procurator to point out to me what is charged against me, me personally, in this statement of accusation? For I shall conduct my own defence; I have no counsel. I ask, therefore, to be informed of what refers to me in the statement of accusation.

THE PRESIDENT: The first thirteen accused, among whom you appear, are accused of having conspired (you being implicated) to form a counter-revolutionary organization with the following objects: to oppose the execution of the decree for the separation of Church and State; to take advantage of religious prejudices; to oppose the decree for the nationalization of Church property, and for the drawing up of civil documents; to maintain a hostile spirit against the Soviet Government; to resist its enactments. Articles 62, 119, and 121 of the Criminal Code.

FEDOROV: May I ask to put in a document wherein are set forth my reasons and those of Kuznetzov why the Soviet Government's regulations [under the decree separating Church and State] could not be accepted by us in their

entirety and also my memorandum? In these statements we show how we were faced by contradictory duties.

KRYLENKO: I object to the admission of this document.

The court refused the application.

FEDOROV: Article 24 of the Penal Code deals with the importance of the psychological factor for understanding the personality of accused persons; but every time that we appeal in this court to our priesthood, we are told: "Your priesthood does not concern us." I ask if that is in accordance with Article 24 of the Penal Code or not?

In reply, Krylenko only referred to Article 25 of the Penal Code.

FEDOROV: I ask the Procurator to explain to me what is the object of the distinction drawn between the teaching of children in the church and the teaching of them in the church schools.

In reply to the request of Krylenko for an explanation of the reason for sending the telegram to the Polish Government, Budkiewicz said: "When the telegram was sent, I had not read it. I regarded it as a mere compliment, and at that time I considered myself a Polish subject, which I find I can no longer do after the Treaty of Riga."

(Interval of three hours.)

At six o'clock in the evening an unusual animation was to be observed on the platform. Two women, one of them a young and very handsome brunette, took their places at the table occupied by the clerk of the court, who seemed to be much interested in the new arrivals. These women spread out notebooks on the table and produced pencils; they were the official stenographers, and had come to take down the speeches of the lawyers and of the accused.

At the same time a large camera, mounted on a tripod, was trained on the prisoners at close range; and the judge did not order the photographer out of the room, for he was the official photographer, and it was his business to "snap" the priests while they were pleading for their lives, just as it was the business of the stenographer to take down every word they said. The priests did not, it is true, speak this day; but, when they spoke the next day, the stenographers and the photographer were ready for them.

The crowd in the hall having now become very large, the doors were opened to let in some fresh air; and with the fresh air there floated in, while Krylenko was speaking, sounds of music and laughter from a hall downstairs, where a Saturday night entertainment was in progress. A Sunday afternoon entertainment seemed to be in progress on the following day, for the distant sounds of it were heard in the court-room while the Archbishop was asking in vain for justice.

THE PRESIDENT: The arguments have been concluded. The Comrade Procurator has the ear of the court.

Krylenko, who began to speak at 6.10 p.m., was moderate enough at first, but quickly launched out into an attack on religion in general and on the Catholic Church in particular. "The Catholic Church," he declared, "has always exploited the working classes." When he demanded the Archbishop's death, he said: "All the Jesuitical duplicity with which you have defended yourself will not save you from the death penalty. No Pope in the Vatican can save you now." He pronounced these words in a tone of horrible glee, and, when he demanded Mgr. Budkiewicz's death, he repeated ominously: "No Pope in the Vatican can save you now." As the long oration proceeded, the Red Procurator worked himself into a fury of anti-religious hatred.

"Your religion," he yelled, "I spit on it, as I do on all religions—on Orthodox, Jewish, Mohammedan, and the rest."

"There is no law but the Soviet law," he yelled at another stage, "and by that law you must die."

Some of those present, who were familiar with the New Testament, were strangely reminded by this last declaration of St. John (xix. 7): "We have a law, and by our law He ought to die, because He made Himself the Son of God."

The limit of horror was reached when, after one particularly bloodthirsty outburst, the Communists in the audience broke out into loud applause. It reminded me of how, nearly two thousand years ago, the Jews in Pilate's court shouted for the blood of Christ. That applause of the Reds was perfectly in keeping with all the proceedings in court:

hence it was that I thought, involuntarily and reverently, of the supreme miscarriage of justice which is forever associated with the name of Pontius Pilate.

Krylenko's First Speech.

I must first of all remind you that this is a court created by revolution, strengthened and developed by revolution.

The conclusion to be drawn from the statements made by Cieplak and the others during the course of the trial is that they think they can put aside the charges brought against them as ancient history, and endeavour to divert the attention of the court from actual facts to the relations that subsist between the Vatican and the Catholic clergy. One of the accused even tries to make out that he is on trial for his religious convictions. In the statement which he made to-day, the accused, Cieplak, declared that the whole question about the signing of the agreements may now be considered as out of date in view of the new decision taken by the Vatican, which, a few days before the trial opened, authorized the Catholic clergy to sign with representatives of the Soviet Government the agreements concerning the Churches.* The accused seem to imagine that this change of front solves the entire problem, because all their resistance to the decrees of the Soviet Government was, according to them, based on the prohibitive canons of the Roman Church. Thus, as I have already remarked, the accused endeavoured to make us enter into the question of the relations that subsist between the Vatican and the Catholic clergy; but my task, on the contrary, is to emphasize the political aspect of the trial, so that I shall now try to bring you back to the true meaning of this case.

In the first place, it is not the duty of the State prosecution to study canon law, but rather to investigate the criminal actions of the accused under the existing conditions of life. Our tribunal is an organ for the safeguarding of the revolution and of the established legal system. The task before the tribunal in the present case is to investigate and decide whether the laws of the Soviet Republic have, in fact, been violated; who among the accused have violated those laws, and to what extent they have done so; and, finally, whether such violations of the laws are a social menace to us all, and whether the guilty persons are likely to be a danger to us in the future. We are not thinking of rewards either in this world or in the next, and of that we may well be proud.

* Three *weeks* before the trial began, the Soviet Government was informed that this authorization had been given. See Appendix V, "The Relations between the Vatican and the Kremlin."

The accused Fedorov was right when he laid stress on Article 24 of the Criminal Code, which points out the importance of the psychological factor; but I shall lay stress on Article 25. This article is the foundation and the corner-stone of all our penal policy. We reject alike all these Churches; to all alike we deny any rights in our State. But we certainly cannot treat them all alike. Our attitude to each of them cannot be the same. It depends on the character which, in the process of historical development, each Church has acquired as a social organ and as a political force. Thus, when we discuss the activities of a particular Church, we must ask ourselves what that Church is to-day, what its historical development has been, what its social class character is, what are its political tendencies. Each of those Churches is, in our opinion, a political power, not because it has a certain programme, but because every collective entity having a special purpose is a political factor, and therefore has a certain weight politically. We, who are responsible to the working masses, cannot ignore this point. What is this political factor? What is its nature? What are its tendencies? That point is taken into consideration in Article 65 of our Constitution, an article which disfranchises priests and monks. We are not fetish-worshippers in politics. We do not pass unbreakable laws granting freedom of the press, of speech, and of conscience. But we do say that in its struggle for self-preservation, and for the existence of the Soviet Republic, the working class, which is in power here, should say: "When we know that a certain social class has acted, is acting, and will act in a spirit of hatred against us, we deprive that class of all political and public rights."

Accordingly, by Article 65 we deprive of political rights any group whose influence is dangerous and contrary to the interests of the working classes; and Article 23 of the Constitution says that, "where the interests of the working classes as a whole are threatened, the R.S.F.S.R. has the right to deprive particular individuals or particular groups of individuals of the rights which they abuse to the detriment of the revolution and of the Soviet Republic."

On the basis of Article 65 of our Constitution, all representatives of the bourgeoisie and of the former capitalistic classes, as well as all monks, priests, and Church servants, are deprived of political rights and of the vote. We believe that on the basis of historical tradition we must regard as our enemies the representatives of those political organizations which are called Churches, Churches of all denominations; and we must apply to them *a priori* Article 23 of our Constitution, so as to prevent them from influencing the political life of the country. For the same reason priests of all denominations are deprived of the right of educating the rising generation, are deprived of the right of teaching religion to children, as this leads to priests ramming religious doctrines into the heads of uncritical children,

with the object of conquering the soul of the future citizen, who, later, surrenders himself to them entirely. It is absolutely necessary, therefore, to deprive the Church of influence in the field of politics. In 1920, during the prosecution of certain members of the Orthodox Church in this very court, we condemned the very same Kuznetzov, along with whom the accused Fedorov had previously presented a joint protest.

With all the cunning of a Jesuit,* Fedorov has observed that we recognize football clubs and skating clubs as possessing a legal personality, but that we do not recognize the Church. Why we act in this way has been explained to him by the statement of accusation. From this point of view, any organization which endangers our Constitution falls under Article 57 of our Criminal Code.

In the days of the Tzardom, the Catholic Church was persecuted; but for us, the Soviet Government, there exists no difference between the Orthodox, the Catholic, the Mohammedan, and the Jewish Churches. We repudiate them all. Your religion (turning to the prisoners in the dock), I spit on it, as I do on all religions—on Orthodox, Jewish, Mohammedan, Lutheran, and the rest. No religious denomination has any political rights or any legal status within the territory of the Republic. This is so because the Church, as a body, is a social factor which may endanger the Government of the workers and peasants. What is the Catholic Church or any other Church ? It is a powerful organization of spiritual subjection, a powerful organization for the enslavement of the working classes. No other organization would aim at holding men, from childhood to death, in the clutches of unlimited and absolute power, a power which is not only spiritual, but also material. Spiritual power is, in this case, only a means. The real object is power over earthly goods. To this the whole history of the Church testifies.

The Church is an organization designed to influence the ideas of men, and so to reduce them to spiritual slavery. The Church has always been the greatest reactionary force in existence; and, as I have already pointed out, the Soviet Government very wisely included in its Constitution an article depriving monks and all ministers of religion of all political rights in common with other non-workers and exploiters; for the entire history of the Church proves that the clergy are our sworn enemies. That is the standpoint of the Soviet Constitution.

The Church has always been, and still is, a powerful instrument

* Neither Fedorov nor any other of the prisoners was a Jesuit, or had been educated by the Jesuits, but this term is continually used by the Bolsheviks as a term of abuse, just as the word "proletarian" is issued by them as a term of respect. Most Russians use the word "Jesuit" to designate any member of the Catholic clergy or of a religious congregation, and the Imperial Russian Code sanctioned this misuse. See Vol. ix, Article 459, of that Code. Edition 1899.

for the enslavement of the masses. The Catholic Church has always exploited the working classes. It is an organized form of spiritual servitude. Cieplak was well aware of this when, in his famous letter which was quoted during the trial, he spoke of the influence of Church education upon the children. The Archbishop himself explained to us why the Church has such powers, and why it strives to keep the education of children in the hands of the clergy. He knows how important it is to impart religious instruction to young people, who are incapable of forming a reasoned judgment on the subject in which they are instructed, and who take on trust the teaching of their elders. The clergy know very well what is the result of ramming into the heads of children from seven years old upwards the ideas for which Cieplak stands; by this means they catch them fast from tender years in tentacles from which not everyone has the strength to free himself afterwards. Since the dawn of history the mind of man, from childhood to old age, has been gripped in these tentacles of religion, but, being resolved to establish freedom of thought, the Soviet Government prohibited the religious instruction of children, and, by the decree of January 21, 1921, that Government strictly forbade the giving of any religious instruction to persons under eighteen years of age. For this reason also we were forced to issue the decree for the separation of Church and State. Nevertheless, the accused make no secret of the fact that they frequently disobeyed these decrees. They have stated here that up to the very eve of the trial they never ceased to teach religion to children from the age of seven upwards. Is not this a crime ? Is not this deliberate counter-revolution ? Uncontrolled influence over the consciences of the masses and uncontrolled management of the material wealth of the Church—this it is that the accused have been stubbornly fighting for throughout the last five years.

We are told that the Churches are very poor. Some of the priests have pointed to the very critical material situation of many Catholic parishes in Petrograd. But this was only a trick. It does not matter whether a particular parish was poor or rich. One of these Churches had a yearly revenue of 300,000 roubles, and when the Church valuables were being requisitioned, the Pope himself offered to buy from the Soviet Government all the Eucharistic vessels in all the Catholic churches in Russia, and to pay for them in gold, so as to prevent their confiscation. The Catholic Church is rich. It is a powerful political organization with branches all over the world. That, under the present conditions in Russia, such an organization is most dangerous, is shown by the struggle between the Catholic Bishops and the parochial committees.

But it is not a question here of interior control, of accountability to the Bishop or the Holy Father, but of control by the organized will of the people. Who is to administer the Church

property, the representatives of the ecclesiastical hierarchy or those who give to the Church the pence earned by the sweat of their brow? That is the question. This is why it is of no importance whether the Church in question is the Catholic, the Orthodox, the Mohammedan, or any other Church.

We have heard a great deal here about the collision between the Government and the canon law, a collision of which the accused are supposed to be the victims; but all this talk about canon law is only a trick of the priests. They say, "The Pope owns all our property," but I say that the clergy are the real owners, not the Pope.

Cieplak asserts that, by canon law, no contracts can be made in regard to Church property, because the sole legal owner of such property, the Pope, is in the Vatican, outside of Soviet Russia. A pretty state of things! Let us examine the actual meaning of this proposition. Can anyone who cannot actually realize his right to a piece of property be the owner thereof? For my part, I say that whoever cannot exercise his right of property effectively and physically is not the owner of that property. It would be absurd to affirm that the Pope of Rome can dispose of the valuables belonging to a Church in, say, Tzarevokokshaisk, or in one of the Volga towns of the Republic.

A Catholic priest says: "I took the chalice; I had it in my house. It is my property."* It is clear who is the real owner of the chalice. It is not the Holy Father, who is in the Vatican. It is the priest himself. We call this right of the Holy Father religious prejudice. All references to the authority of the Pope or to the Pope's right to dispose of Church property are nothing but religious prejudices, and references to that fetish must certainly be treated as a crime. We call baptism also a religious prejudice. We call confession a religious prejudice; likewise all the sacraments. In our Penal Code we apply the same term to all these acts of the Church, and we have the right to do so in our own country. These religious prejudices, when used to destroy the capacity of a child to choose and reason for himself, we call religious poison; and we regard such use as a political act within the meaning of our Criminal Code. With regard to sermons preached in church we have reasons for being very circumspect, as churches were certainly being used as political arenas. The Archbishop sent throughout Russia circulars, which were read at the same time in all the Catholic churches, to the effect that a conflict of ideas must be waged against the revolutionary laws and against the Government which issues such laws. What is this but counter-revolution?

The occupants of the prisoners' bench declare that they are interested solely in ecclesiastical affairs and do not meddle in politics. They try to make us believe that they are only con-

* The reference is to the Eucharistic plate used for the private celebration of Mass.

cerned about the faith, that for them politics do not exist. If so, what term are we to apply to the statement made in Cieplak's pastoral and openly proclaimed from the pulpit in various towns of the Republic—the statement that a certain decree of the Soviet Government is pernicious and must not be obeyed?

The action of the priests in making Catholics leave the Communist Party was an attempt to weaken that party, and was therefore a political act. We are not bound by the traditions of former Russian Governments; nevertheless, we must remember that the Catholic Church has always been the enemy of the people, and that the Pope, in his encyclicals, has anathematized all the doctrines of Socialism. We must remember the rôle which the Church and its clergy have played for centuries in political life. When, in 1876 (*sic*), the Paris Commune, for the first time in the history of mankind, placed political power in the hands of the workers, the Pope launched curses, in the shape of a Bull, on the heads of those warriors of revolution. Towards a political organization with such traditions the Soviet authorities have strong reason for being particularly careful. Even if we had no proof of organized activity, nevertheless certain acts of the clergy would be sufficient to convict Cieplak and Co. All the accused priests abused religious superstition in order to resist the Soviet Government, and these priests must now be made to realize that we have not come here to joke.

What did the priests mean by kneeling before the crowd when the agents of the Soviet Government made their demands under the law and exhibited their legal warrants? Their kneeling before the people amounted to an incitement of the people to resistance. Why did the crowd follow the priest Eismont? It was only because he had worked on the religious prejudices of this crowd for his own interests. Khvetzko and Eismont, both of them now sitting on the prisoners' bench, had brought matters to such a pass in their respective parishes that 640 parishioners in one parish and 250 in another protested against being asked to sign the agreements, begging to be left in peace, and not dragged into ecclesiastical affairs.

Who was it that signed that protest? For the most part, workmen whose understandings had been darkened by their spiritual fathers, those spiritual fathers having told them that the signing of the agreements was forbidden by canon law. Because 600 workmen of the Putilov Works, workmen who had a very imperfect understanding of what they were doing, signed this paper (the protest), which the priest Eismont had ratified by his own signature, for that very reason I demand that the priest Eismont be sentenced to death.

It is of no consequence to us what exactly happened at the church of the Sacred Heart of the Virgin Mary, or what exactly happened at the church of the Sacred Heart of Jesus. What is of consequence is that something did happen, and that our

agents, by not retaliating upon Eismont, Pronsketis, and Sharnas, as they deserved, made them concessions which only demoralized them. That is the sole extenuating circumstance in their case. The priest Yunevich shouted to the representative of the Government to take himself off. The (other) priests fell on their knees and made demonstrations by singing Psalms, finally bringing matters to such a pitch that the crowd had to be driven out of the church by force. This led, of course, to violent excitement, which, later on, provoked widespread discontent and active hostility towards the Soviet Government. It is not without reason that the accused themselves say that their congregations were "grieved."* This is an extremely mild way of putting it, and it may be surmised that this sense of grievance might easily turn into "resistance" and, finally, into "revolt." Now, I ask if this action of the accused in making people feel that they had a grievance against the Government was not a political action? Let a section of the people be made to feel that the Government has treated it badly in any one matter, and let this section go on to infer, as it naturally will infer, that the Government has also treated it badly in other matters, and is responsible for the present hardships of life in Russia, for the lack of food and clothing, for the transport and economic difficulties, and the result will be that a feeling of dissatisfaction will spread amongst the workmen and amongst the peasants, and that serious discontent will eventually be produced.

Is not this politics, and are not the occupants of the prisoners' bench counter-revolutionaries and confirmed enemies of the Soviet Government? The Soviet Government has granted to the Catholic Church the right to exist, and the Catholic Church has used that right as a weapon against the Government. Her members have, on more than one occasion, been in communication with foreign countries, and, in 1918, they made a profession of loyalty to an alien, a foreign power.

The general line of action followed by the accused in their counter-revolutionary endeavours was the manipulation of religious prejudices with the object of stirring up the populace against the Soviet Government and of inciting it to resist the laws of that Government. What are we to say of sermons preached in the churches urging parents to take a firm stand to secure the continuance of the religious instruction of their children, contrary to the decrees of the Soviet Government? It is a political campaign against the Soviet Government, for, by inciting the Catholic population to resist one after another of the laws of the Soviet Government, the accused have stirred

* The Archbishop admitted that his people were "grieved" at the action of the Soviet Government, and Krylenko, taking him up at once, asked if making people feel that they had a grievance against the Government was not a political action (see p. 203).

it up against the Government itself. And, after all this, we are told by the accused that the campaign carried on against us was not political, but belonged to "the realm of ideas."

The actions of one and all of the accused were stamped with a definitely political object. More than that, the accused were united in an organized body; and their actions come under Articles 63 and 119 of the Criminal Code, to which the death penalty is attached. The main idea of the prisoners was to obstruct the working of the Soviet Government, of its decrees, etc. The accused had formed parochial committees whose object was to oppose the Soviet Government and to use all their religious influence for that purpose. They even established a Catholic-Orthodox organization.*

With regard to the first thirteen accused, we bring our accusation under Articles 63 and 119 of the Penal Code. We accuse them of belonging to an organization which sought to utilize religious superstitions for counter-revolutionary aims. The power of this organization is obvious. In the year 1922 it had stupefied and subjugated to its will hundreds of thousands of workmen,† and had forced the agents of the Soviet Government to make many concessions to it. Have we any guarantees that the accused will change their attitude or cease their counter-revolutionary activities? We can say with certainty that we have no such guarantees. We must therefore secure ourselves against any similar occurrences.

To prove that Cieplak resisted the operation of the law, I need only mention his order not to deliver the inventory, and the fact that he issued his circular.

Budkiewicz approached the Polish Government not only for guarantees, but also in order to express his fidelity. The clergy created an organization outside the State and opposed to the State; and our duty now is to call this organization to order, to seize it with clutches of iron, to force it to recognize our laws.

Article 119 of the Penal Code provides for the supreme penalty. Not only are the acts of certain priests the subject of investigation in this trial; the documents produced in court have also a particular value. Ropp and Cieplak discussed a plan of counter-revolutionary action based on their abuse of religious superstitions, and from their laboratory of Catholic reaction we get the following results: (1) Refusal to surrender the registers of births, marriages, and deaths; (2) disobedience to laws dealing

* The Exarch Fedorov had met Orthodox priests and even Jewish rabbis with a view to a common protest against the anti-religious legislation of the Bolsheviks. I need hardly remind the reader that exactly the same thing happened in England and America as a result of this trial, which was denounced with equal violence by Roman Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish leaders in both countries.

† It is estimated that there are in Soviet Russia over one million Catholics, most of them workmen.

with marriages and births; (3) maintenance of denominational schools; (4) the teaching of religion to children; (5) refusal by the clergy to register objects of cult. These are the products that came out of the laboratory of Catholic counter-revolution. Thus, there certainly existed a clerical organization whose task it was to resist the Soviet by the abuse of religious superstitions.

What about Budkiewicz? Well, here is his letter, in which he says: "Consider me a juridical person." He makes redemptions [of Church property] and he makes pledges; and that in 1919, at a time when, according to revolutionary law, neither redemptions nor pledges were permitted. . . . Does Budkiewicz acknowledge these laws? . . . He asks for help from the Polish Government and for guarantees against the confiscation of Church property. . . . What guarantees of his own conduct will the priest Budkiewicz give us? He, a Russian subject, appeals to a foreign Government. What name can we give to such conduct?* . . . Had you lost your head, priest Budkiewicz? . . . You express your fealty to the Polish Government; you, the head of an organization possessed of enormous influence, send the expression of your fealty to the representatives of a foreign State! . . . Budkiewicz, you have expressed more clearly than anyone else the very essence of Catholic policy—namely, its opposition to the Soviet power, which opposition is punishable under Articles 57 and 59 of the Criminal Code. Relations with a foreign power! . . . Thus you are one of the chief agents in this whole matter—much more so than Archbishop Cieplak. Who concocted all these plans for the meetings of the hierarchies? You, Budkiewicz! Who wrote the memorandum? You, Budkiewicz! These are flagrant acts of counter-revolution, punishable under Article 63 of the Criminal Code. If you had had more foresight, Budkiewicz, you would not have left your documents where they were found, but would have hidden them in the attic of someone like Princess Drutskaya-Liubetskaya,† whose trunks you kept in your own attic. I have no pity for you.

I said that Budkiewicz's acts were flagrant acts of counter-revolution punishable by Article 63 of the Criminal Code. The same remark applies to the acts of all the first thirteen accused, as set forth in the statement of accusation. We have the proof of this in the commentaries of the priest Budkiewicz, and in the personal statements of all the members of this organization that they will act in the same way in future. . . . Articles 63 and 119 decree the penalty of death for participation in any organization for the purpose of resisting or inciting to resist the laws of the Soviet Government. The importance of this organization

* Krylenko here turned towards Mgr. Budkiewicz and addressed him in the second person.

† In the Bolshevik pamphlet this name is given as Drucka-Lubecka.

is proved. If this organization declares that when a choice must be made between its own laws and ours it chooses the former, then we have not the right to spare it. Article 8 of the Criminal Code must be applied in order to anticipate the violation of the law. So long as this organization is not destroyed it will continue to be dangerous.

The reverend fathers must not think that telegrams from their centres abroad leave those who receive them free from criminal responsibility. Let them take their own measures [to dissociate themselves]; let them rally to our side. Then we may consider whether we will parley with them. . . . But [pointing to Mgr. Budkiewicz] what are we to say of the man who is the motive power and the inspiration of all these violations of the law, the man who has used his religious influence over the masses in order to make them go against the Soviet Government? Organizer of secret meetings . . . agent of foreign powers—that is what he is. And I demand, therefore, that he be made to pay the supreme penalty of the law. Budkiewicz, no Pope in the Vatican can save you now! There is no law here but the Soviet law, and by that law you must die!

Now, take the citizen Fedorov. Fedorov is a remarkable man. In personal qualities he may be compared to Budkiewicz, but in earnestness and intelligence he is infinitely superior to Budkiewicz. Budkiewicz has the bearing of a Jesuit; he is calculating and he is cunning. Fedorov is straightforward in his dealings. And these dealings are not to be explained by fanaticism alone. He was the originator of the meetings with the Orthodox clergy. He propounded the idea of co-ordinating all these counter-revolutionary organizations against the Soviet laws. As a preventive measure he, too, must be deprived of the power to do harm. He is judged not only for what he has done, but for what he can do.*

Article 57 of our Penal Code declares that any movement directed against the R.S.F.S.R. is counter-revolutionary, and must be punished as such. For taking part in the organization I have described, all the prisoners deserve to suffer the supreme penalty of the law; but I shall limit myself to demanding that punishment for only four of them. Two of these, Cieplak and Budkiewicz, were the originators and organizers of the counter-revolutionary activities of all the accused. The whole burden of responsibility falls on the shoulders of these two. Cieplak was the clear brain of this counter-revolution. Budkiewicz was its actual leader, organizer, guiding spirit, and he was, besides, the agent of a foreign State—Poland—to whose Govern-

* What the Procurator meant by this is not clear. Perhaps he referred to the Exarch's efforts to bring about the union of the Eastern and Western Churches, to which great work Fedorov has devoted his life. But to punish a man for wanting to do this is not justice.

ment he sent the expression of his fealty. Both these should suffer the supreme penalty. For the prisoner Cieplak I demand the supreme penalty. Cieplak, all the Jesuitical duplicity with which you have defended yourself will not save you from death ! No Pope in the Vatican can save you now !

For Budkiewicz I also demand the supreme penalty. For Eismont and Khvetzko I likewise demand the supreme penalty, because they are confirmed enemies of the Soviet Government, because they have broken the law and declare that they will continue to break it. The severe punishment inflicted on them will deter others from following their example.

As regards Khodnevich and Yunevich, who are also enemies of the Republic, I leave the fixing of their sentences to the discretion of the court; and I think it may be possible to give them only ten years' imprisonment. For Fedorov I also demand ten years' imprisonment. For Maletzky, Vassilevsky, Troigo, Matulianis, Yanukovich, and Ivanov, I demand five years. For Rutkovsky and Pronsketis I demand three years. For Sharnas, who is under age, I demand a sentence of not more than six months.

These sentences are real measures which should be taken in order to save the Soviet *régime* from counter-revolutionary activities, and to show everybody that the laws in Soviet Russia are not to be trifled with, that we insist on their exact and accurate observance.

Disregarding the attitude of other organizations towards the accused, we demand from everybody that they conform, without reservation, to the law. Let this severe punishment show the Catholic clergy that our law will not joke with those who trifle with it.

These last words were greeted with loud applause by the Communists in the body of the court, and this savage demonstration Galkin made no attempt to suppress.

Krylenko then sat down, and was soon buried in a novel, which he read industriously during the speeches for the defence and during the speeches from the dock next day, only withdrawing his attention from it in order to reply first to the counsel for the defence, and secondly to Fedorov, and to interrupt and jeer at the Exarch and at Mgr. Budkiewicz when they were saying their last words.

Krylenko's references to the Criminal Code will be found in Appendix II. or in the official *Ugolovny Kodex R.S.F.S.R., Moskva*, 1922.

His references to the Constitution will be found in the official edition of the Constitution or in *Une Législation Communiste*, Raoul Labry., Payot, Paris, 1920.

ADVOCATE KOMMODOV'S FIRST SPEECH FOR THE DEFENCE.

Kommodov said that the duties of the accused as priests conflicted with their duties as citizens. They had followed two different lines of conduct. Ropp gave way because he was convinced that the Soviet Government would not last more than a fortnight at most. Cieplak pursued a different line, because his age made him frank. (? Being an old man, not far from the grave, he had nothing to fear from death.) Cieplak maintained that the clergy could sign the agreements only with the permission of the Pope. Cieplak spoke the truth when he declared that he was pleased at the disestablishment of the Church; for the connection between Church and State was in contradiction to the spirit of religion, leading as it did to the Church becoming political, and mainly reactionary. The State naturally gave privileges to the Church, but it did not give them for nothing; it wanted the Church to condone, in return, the crimes which it, the State, had been committing for hundreds of years.

He did not deny that squabbles had taken place in connection with the seizure of Church valuables, but they were insignificant episodes. The struggle between the Church and the Government could not be regarded as due to counter-revolutionary activity on the part of the clergy. The priests criticized the Church disestablishment decree from a purely religious standpoint, and for reasons purely religious they resisted the decree instituting civil marriage.

Kommodov insisted on the purely religious mentality of the accused, and of Cieplak in the first place. He laid stress on the impossibility of requiring priests to infringe the principle of obedience to their ecclesiastical superiors. It was impossible, he said, for an old man of sixty-five years, who had lived for forty years in that atmosphere of obedience, to become all at once a different man. To require such an instantaneous change would be to require something superhuman. These men acted as they did, not because they were counter-revolutionaries, but because they had lived in and breathed that atmosphere all their lives. When, at an earlier date, the illegal union of Church and State was effected, an historical crime was committed, and he (Kommodov) contended that Archbishop Cieplak spoke the truth when he said that he approved of the decree for the separation of Church and State. All the best representatives of the Church also approved of the decree. From that time they were awaiting from day to day the early solution of the question of Church property, as a result of the negotiations between the Soviet Government and the Pope, which were then beginning. The despatch of a Government telegram to the Pope might have been the means of establishing (the correctness of) their point of view. There was not, at that time, a proper apprecia-

tion of the issues involved in the question even by the representatives of the Soviet Government, isolated as they then were. (He quoted here Chicherin's note [to Cardinal Gasparri].) How could this be called a political struggle, next door to a preparation to resist the Government by force of arms ? Those priests had but one arm—the truth. It was merely a conflict of ideas, and the Bolshevik political vocabulary had no term to express it. They had there no counter-revolutionary organization, but simply ordinary ecclesiastical conferences. Were it otherwise, the minutes of the deliberations on the Soviet decrees relating to the dissolution or the celebration of marriages would also reflect the counter-revolutionary character of the meetings. Now, could one denounce as counter-revolutionary this or that expression of hostility spoken at a meeting and accidentally incorporated in the minutes ? The prosecution might as well accuse a man of coining false money because a bad rouble was found in his pocket. The religious mentality of those men explained everything with regard to them. If the Pope had permitted it, they would have signed any agreement. From the same point of view, it was impossible, whilst the churches were closed, to insist that Khvetzko should have driven the worshippers away from the churches. Something superhuman would be necessary to enable him to do violence to himself in these circumstances. Khvetzko was a priest who had spent his life in attracting worshippers to the Church, and then he was expected to drive them himself out of his place of worship. The same religious mentality explained what seemed at first sight a strange thing. Why did Khvetzko not sign the minutes of inspection, if he allowed the inspection itself and the taking of the inventory ? Nothing prevented him from signing the agreement but the principle of religious obedience and the desire to avoid taking the responsibility before the Holy See. Could any of those acts be seriously called counter-revolutionary ?

Bobrishchev-Pushkin's Speech and Author's Comments Thereupon.

M. Bobrishchev-Pushkin laboured under the great disadvantage of having to prove that the Soviet law was mild when, as a matter of fact, it was just the opposite. He might as well have tried to squeeze water out of a stone. Under Soviet law the prisoners were all liable to the death penalty, for Soviet law has invaded the domain of religious and civil freedom to an extent that has never been paralleled in modern times.

M. Bobrishchev-Pushkin was further handicapped by Krylenko's smiles and sneers, which were, by the way, an unpleasant feature of the whole case. When, at one point, he waxed pathetic, Krylenko, grinning from ear to ear, tried to catch the old man's eye in order to make him grin also, and thus undo all the force of his emotional appeal. Not, indeed, that

this emotional appeal was of any practical value, for the sentences had all been decided upon before the court sat, and the whole trial was therefore a farce.

M. Bobrishchev-Pushkin asserted that the actions of the accused did not amount technically to counter-revolution, and insisted that, in order to prove their charge of counter-revolution, the prosecution must prove that the prisoners were animated by a set purpose to overthrow the power of the Soviets. Where were the proofs that the Archbishop and his clergy intended to overthrow the Government? Their conferences dealt with purely ecclesiastical matters, and they had made no attempt to conceal the minutes of those conferences.

The second fundamental thesis of the defence was one which M. Bobrishchev-Pushkin had brought forward at the beginning of the trial when he asserted that those actions of the accused specified in the indictment were merely isolated violations of certain decrees of the Government, isolated offences against administrative order, and not part of a general conspiracy against the Government. On that occasion M. Bobrishchev-Pushkin had asked that those charges should be taken separately, but the judges ruled against him. In this concluding speech M. Bobrishchev-Pushkin again put forward the same plea. He also endeavoured to explain what he called "the mentality" of clergy in general, and of the Catholic clergy in particular. To the Catholic clergy, he said, the Pope of Rome is not so much a "Holy Father" in a strictly religious sense, as the supreme owner of all Church property—that is, of all the property which the Church disestablishment decree had transferred to the State. The Catholic clergy were therefore compelled to choose between submission to the law of the Soviet Government and obedience to the Vatican.

In my (the author's) opinion, this was feeble, and Bobrishchev-Pushkin's subsequent references to Poland were worse than feeble; they assisted the prosecution by withdrawing the case from the religious sphere, to which it properly belonged, and transferring it to the political sphere. But this was, undoubtedly, an error of judgment, nothing more; and it would have been as much as Bobrishchev-Pushkin's life was worth to declare roundly that he was dealing with a case of religious persecution pure and simple. But one could not help thinking of the crushing arguments that lay ready to his hand, if only he were free to use them. I shall now leave this lawyer to speak for himself.

He maintained that the conception generally held of "counter-revolution" was quite other than the meaning it had in the Criminal Code. Article 57 spoke of "the abolition of the Soviet power." ("To intend the abolition of the Soviet power and to organize an attempt to bring about that abolition is punishable by death.") If, in the case before them, there was any question of the "abolition of the Soviet power," he (Bobrishchev-

Pushkin) surrendered to the prosecution all the accused, and asked the prosecution to execute them. But in the absence of any intention to abolish the Soviet power, why so severe a punishment? Again, let them take the expression about the passage from the defensive to the offensive. What did that expression mean? Could it possibly refer to an attempt by force of arms? All that matter, and all the documents connected with it, showed clearly that by a passage from the defensive to the offensive the petition alone was meant. If, during the hearing of a case, he (Bobrishchev-Pushkin) passed from criticism to attack, he would say that he was passing from the defensive to the offensive, and yet he never had had a revolver in his pocket. As to the telegram signed by Budkiewicz after the religious ceremony, after the banquet, a telegram which he had not even read properly, but which he signed in haste—did that really prove relations with a foreign power based on treasonable plans? Furthermore, Budkiewicz was then a Polish subject. The Poles had always been noted for their ardent patriotism, and they were now grateful to the Bolsheviks for having by their assistance enabled Poland again to unite together her three parts, which had been divided among three empires. To demand that Budkiewicz should be sentenced to death because of his love for Poland was unjust.

The Poles did not want to bring about the overthrow of the Soviet Government. Let them recall the tragic history of the Poles. Their country had been divided into three portions. Everything had been taken away from them. They had been deprived even of their national existence. But they could not be deprived of the love they felt for their native land, and they always repeated "Poland is not yet lost."* Suddenly the Great War broke out, and Poland was restored—by the Bolsheviks. The Polish State entered into an agreement with the Soviet Government, and if a certain kind of war changed the relations between the two countries, it was because the Poles tried to regain their natural frontier; and it was clear that they would not go beyond that frontier. The Poles could not but feel grateful towards those who helped to bring about their national resurrection. What other system of government could they desire in Russia? Could they desire a return to the monarchy and to slavery? It was impossible that these Poles could want to overthrow the system which had restored to them their country. Such a supposition would be a sin against historical truth.

Bobrishchev-Pushkin attributed the reluctance of the clergy on the question of the "twenties" to caution. The clergy were afraid that if laymen were given charge of the Church property, some of the property might be stolen. Their teaching of children under eighteen was an ordinary contravention of the law. There

* The first words of the Polish National Anthem.

was nothing counter-revolutionary in the organization of parochial committees or in the conferences of the clergy. The campaign against the Soviet Government was merely an ideological campaign. Budkiewicz was present at a ceremony where it was decided to send a telegram to Poland, and he signed this telegram without ever reading the text. Even if he knew the contents—after all, Poland had previously been his country. Did he betray Russia by wishing success to Poland? The Soviet Government, as such, could not but wish success to Poland as one of the States which were friendly to her. They could not accuse Budkiewicz of treason. It was impossible that he could betray Russia. He loved Poland because every Pole did so, because his (Budkiewicz's) heart was in Poland and his soul in the Vatican, and there was nothing counter-revolutionary in that.

In the same way the attitude of Cieplak towards the signature of the agreements had nothing counter-revolutionary in it. Ropp believed that the Government of the Soviets would not last long; but Cieplak realized that it was growing stronger and stronger every day. On the basis of his false presumption, Ropp promoted the signing of the agreements in the belief that the Government would soon collapse, with the result that all agreements with it would become null and void. When Cieplak saw that the Government remained standing, he declared that everyone must be permitted to defend his own rights.

Finally, Bobrishchev-Pushkin protested against the death penalty as too severe, and urged that the accused should be sentenced to deportation instead of death.

This proposal to deport the prisoners instead of shooting and imprisoning them was greeted by a sudden outburst of applause and hand-clapping from the middle of the hall, the centre of the demonstration being two or three young Polish curates from the church of SS. Peter and Paul. Some women also took part in it, evidently by prearrangement. Galkin grew black with anger, and he savagely threatened to clear the court if ever such a demonstration were repeated, being apparently not at all appeased by one of the demonstrators calling out in a cheerful and conciliatory voice: "There are no counter-revolutionaries here."

Krylenko's Reply.

After Bobrishchev-Pushkin had sat down, Krylenko spoke again, even more bitterly than he had spoken before. In order to prove that there had been a conspiracy to resist the decrees of the Soviet Government on the subject of Church disestablish-

ment, he quoted once more from the minutes of the clerical conferences as well as from the *Moghilev Diocesan Chronicle*, and from other documents; and he maintained that all the accused had been united in a deep-dyed counter-revolutionary organization which had, throughout five years, continued to oppose every decree of the Soviet Government; had, systematically and of set purpose, ignored the lawful demands of the Bolshevik authorities; and had utilized the religious prejudices of the Roman Catholics in order to stir them up against the Communist *régime*. Krylenko declared emphatically that the actions of the accused bore the authentic hall-mark of counter-revolution; and he urged that, even supposing the court had not before it all the evidence technically necessary for a verdict of counter-revolution, the Supreme Tribunal was entitled to make use of Article 10 of the Criminal Code, by virtue of which article the court could decide that the crimes with which the accused were charged were indictable under those articles of the Criminal Code which "deal with crimes of like nature and importance." This last argument of Krylenko's was not very clear, but, apparently, the Procurator meant that the court should exercise the unlimited power it undoubtedly possesses of condemning non-Bolsheviks on general grounds, whether the charges against them have been proved or not.

THE PRESIDENT: The accused Fedorov is entitled to speak in his own defence.

SPEECH OF THE EXARCH FEDOROV.

FEDOROV: My whole life has been based on two principles: love of the Church to which I am united, and love of my country, which I adore. If I do not care whether I am sentenced to ten years' imprisonment or to be shot, it is not because I am a fanatic. Sometimes the innocent must be executed in order that the guilty may not escape. Since I joined the Catholic Church my sole object has been to reconcile my country with that Church which I believe to be the one true Church. Under the old Government I was imprisoned in Tobolsk for two and a half years. One of my priests spent three years in the prison of Susdal. . . . [A monastic prison. See Glossary.]

THE PRESIDENT: Keep to the point. What does it matter to us what Catholic priests may have suffered in the past?

FEDOROV: I wish to show that the Government did not understand us. I made great efforts to prove that Russian Catholics were like others in every way, and yet we had to endure the constant menace of being banished to Siberia. We were subjected to persecution in the time of the Tzar, and we had to contend with great difficulties under the Kerensky *régime*. That was the reason why Archbishop Ropp and all the Latin Catholics breathed a sigh of relief when the October Revolution

took place. But the Russian Catholics also felt very happy, as it was only when the Soviet *régime* came that the Greco-Catholic Church was placed on a footing of equality with all other denominations. For this reason I myself welcomed with enthusiasm the decree for the separation of Church and State. I welcomed it with all the joy of a man who hated the unnatural alliance that had existed between the two in Russia; and I was still more pleased when, in 1918, Archbishop Ropp received from Bonch-Bruevich the invitation for us to participate in the commission for the revision of the regulations [to be made under the decree] for the separation of Church and State. If due regard had been paid to the views expressed by us in the course of these deliberations, we would not be here now as prisoners charged with forming a secret organization; such a charge would be devoid of any foundation.

The President interrupted the speaker, asking him to keep to the point.

FEDOROV: There is no secret organization. Our meetings were perfectly well known both to the fifth section of Narkomjust and to Bonch-Bruevich, and there can therefore be no question of secret organization. What can the Procurator find contrary to law in our actions ? We were working in co-operation with the Government, and when we were already nearing a solution of the question, there suddenly and unexpectedly appeared these ill-considered regulations. They were in plain contradiction with the decree, therefore I resisted them; and I particularly objected to what they said about Church property, because it was a flagrant violation of canon law. I do not wish to criticize the actions of the Government, but the citizen Procurator charges against me as a crime my negotiations with the Orthodox Church and my interview with Kuznetzov. It is true that I was the originator of the joint petition for the revision of the regulations, but how was I concerned in the reasons for Kuznetzov's condemnation ? For me, Kuznetzov was not a chosen friend, nor an instigator of any kind; he merely collaborated with me in the preparation of the considerations [to be presented to the Government] with regard to the regulations.

Fedorov then spoke of his memorandum on the regulations, and pointed out the contradictions contained in the regulations [*i.e.*, between them and the decree for separation]. " In accordance with the decree, . . . once more we read in the regulations that religious societies are authorized. Then, on January 4, 1920, the [receipt or] agreement was signed in my church." He continued:

FEDOROV: I beg the court to note that the regulations provide for any twenty citizens of the R.S.F.S.R. [Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic], without regard to their religious beliefs, to administer the Church property. If we opposed this seizure of our property it was not because of any desire for gain,

but solely because of the laws of our Church. Canon law is an absolutely sacred thing for us. The supremacy of the Roman Pontiff is a dogma of our Catholic faith, and submission to him as Christ's Vicar on earth is an absolute obligation for us. That was why it was a matter of principle for us, and not merely a squabble about worldly goods. My poor flock, of whom only some eighty souls remain, suffered continually from poverty. What, then, were the treasures that might be expected to come from the hands of me, their priest? One cannot reduce the whole affair to a conflict for the possession of valuables. It must be taken into account that I had to defend myself when there was a conflict of duties.

THE PRESIDENT: What do you say about the Provisional Government?

FEDOROV: Under the Provisional Government it was easier to defend ourselves against the invasion by the State of the sphere of our purely religious rights. The Provisional Government recognized us, but always referred us to the Department of Foreign Religions, and yet required our services (for this country). It was only under the Soviet Government, when Church and State were separated, that we could breathe freely. As a believer in religion, I saw in this deliverance an act of Providence. To you, who do not believe, this must be quite incomprehensible. You took a step further in permitting the infamous deeds of the Komsomol [a society of young Communists].

THE PRESIDENT (*stopping him*): What do you mean?

FEDOROV: The [anti-Christian] processions [which you permitted to take place in public on Christmas Day].

The President advised him not to criticize the Government, and to keep to the point.

FEDOROV: Then we received these contradictory and ambiguous regulations. We could not understand why we were forbidden to perform marriages or baptisms without previous registration. What does it matter to the State if people are married in church or not? So we had another conference with the representatives of the Orthodox Church, and we asked for an explanation of the why and the wherefore. We were given no explanation. Now the matter passed from the stage of discussion of the law to that of its execution. The representative of the fifth section of the Narkomjust [Commissariat of Justice], Citizen Krasikov, informed me that this contract was a provisional one—that the country was passing through a crisis and we must submit. I agreed to this, and I pacified my parishioners at the meeting. If we believe what is said in the Holy Scriptures that all power comes from God, then as a Catholic priest I must admit that this your power also comes from God, and perhaps it is sent to us as a punishment for our sins. . . .

(Laughter and disturbance in court.)

THE PRESIDENT: You are of opinion that the Government of workmen and peasants has been sent to you as punishment for your sins ?

FEDOROV: Yes, that is within the scope of our belief as Christians. Authority is one thing and an atheistic propaganda quite another. I have always fought against atheism and proved its impotence. I have often spoken at meetings in Petrograd where politics were excluded, and no one present could be found to accuse me of having even touched on politics in my speeches. As to the education of children, the idea of education forms an integral part of Catholic dogma. If we did not teach we would cease by that very fact to do our duties as priests. As we shall always celebrate Mass, so shall we always teach religion to children. The Soviet Government forbids the teaching of religion; but I cannot obey any decrees which tend to limit the freedom of religion, particularly such a decree as that which prohibits the giving of religious instruction to young people under eighteen. . . .

GALKIN (*severely*): Don't talk against the law. Confine yourself to the case.

FEDOROV: This conflict of duties is a terrible thing for us, citizen judges. I leave it to the conscience of the Procurator if he really thinks that we wish to corrupt the minds of children.

KRYLENKO: Enough of this farce !

FEDOROV: As you will ! If you think we are charlatans and "sacrificers"*—if you say I am performing a farce—in very truth I cannot defend myself; I can but be a victim and no more. . . . Bonch-Bruevich said to me himself, "It is your sacred duty to teach the children," and Krasikov said, "Then you will be arrested."

THE PRESIDENT: Do not state what cannot be proved. You ought to have mentioned these things at the preliminary investigation. We could then have summoned your witnesses here. As it is, I must ask you to keep within the limits of the right which is allowed to you.

FEDOROV: Very well ! What, then, is a Church which does not teach ? If, for instance, young people of sixteen or eighteen years come to me to be married, how can I deal with them if I do not impart certain religious ideas to them ? And you, do you not give instruction to young people under the age of eighteen years ? What would a child be if he had never learned anything until he was eighteen years of age ? (Laughter.)

THE PRESIDENT: You are criticizing the laws of the Soviet Government.

FEDOROV: I am but explaining our religious mentality. Under the Constitution I may propagate my religious ideas. Why may I not do so amongst children ?

* Apparently a cant term of abuse among Bolsheviks for priests.

THE PRESIDENT: The law forbids it, and you are not explaining your mentality, but making a reasoned argument.

FEDOROV: I cannot help reasoning. I cannot take my heart in my hands and show it to you——

Here the President made an observation to which Fedorov replied. Then Fedorov said, "If we are allowed liberty of conscience, we cannot be burned at the stake——," whereupon the President stopped him.

FEDOROV: Well, permit me to explain the state of our souls in another way. Our faith is the sole motive power of our religious life, and it urges us to convert others. If Communists were forbidden to teach their Communistic principles to their children before the age of eighteen years, would they submit to that prohibition? Why, then, does this law deprive us of the power to hand on to our children our religious faith? All publications dealing with these questions have been proscribed and forbidden in Russia.

THE PRESIDENT: Have you tried to get any of them from abroad?

FEDOROV: Yes, and I have got some of them. Philosophical works were allowed through, but books on theology were confiscated at the frontier.

THE PRESIDENT: You should have stated that, too, at the preliminary investigation, and you could have laid a complaint. Now it is too late.

FEDOROV: Let me finish. The remonstrances which we made to the Government had nothing in them of a revolutionary nature. The confiscation of property took place at my church, I repeat, without any difficulties arising. In reply to the accusation of having been unwilling to deliver up the Church property for the splendid object of saving the starving, we remind you of the forty van-loads of food sent by Pope Benedict XV, and of the 120,000 children being fed at present by Pope Pius XI.

THE PRESIDENT: Well, what about that? The Pope may help the starving, and Catholics may nevertheless resist the law. Deal with the facts of your own case.

FEDOROV: I am coming to them.

THE PRESIDENT: And about time you did.

FEDOROV: I have never concealed anything. The Government knew everything, and I cannot be accused of having taken part in secret organizations. All these misunderstandings can be traced back to the vicious circle of ideas in which we are placed by the contradictory regulations, from which we could not find the way out. We are guilty neither of counter-revolution nor of forming a secret organization, still less of having intended to resist the Soviet Government or to overthrow it. I have nothing more to say.

Krylenko's Final Speech.

Krylenko's final speech was even more bitter than his first, and, like his first, it contained one very significant passage. The significant passage in his first speech was the invitation to the prisoners to range themselves on the side of the Soviet Government. The significant passage in the final speech was the appeal to that revolutionary fury with which the court had been carefully packed, and the covert threat to Bobrishchev-Pushkin and Kommodov. That appeal ended with the words, "I object to all these casuistical discussions in this court."

Krylenko's final speech ran as follows:

Every revolutionary understands what the revolutionary conscience and the revolutionary judgment are. . . . We acknowledge the authority of our Code, but we introduce into it the modifications required by practical life. All this is provisional, and the Code has many faults. . . . Edward Ropp's letter to Budkiewicz speaking of "the struggle with the Bolshevik plague" falls directly under Article 1 of the Criminal Code. . . . Citizen Fedorov can speak as much as he likes from the pulpit about God and about the Prophet Elijah, but when he starts to threaten a congregation of ignorant people and children by telling them that, if they obey the Soviet Government, the Prophet Elijah will come down from heaven in a fiery chariot and destroy them, we do not allow him to continue, for such talk constitutes terrorization of the ignorant. To the plain precept of the law forbidding the benumbing of children's minds, the accused replies, "I will do as I like," but we say, "We will not allow you to do as you like." We know how to react against such conduct.

I deny that the offences committed by the accused were not intended to be committed against the Soviet Government as such. The clergy were counter-revolutionaries. They engaged in counter-revolutionary activities.

What do we mean by counter-revolutionary activities? Bobrishchev-Pushkin has answered that question. He defined counter-revolutionary activities as "all such activities as break the law and threaten the fundamental principles of the Constitution." I agree with this definition, and apply it to the activities of the clergy. I describe as counter-revolutionary all such activities as tend to introduce a system calculated to diminish in any way the authority and jurisdiction of the Soviet Government. That Government alone is entitled to administer the law, and to it alone belongs all real estate in Russia. The Church possesses none of these rights.

In the activities of the clergy there was not only criticism of the Soviet Government; there was also a struggle with it. The clergy thought at first that the Government was temporary,

and therefore saw no reason why they should take any steps to overthrow it. The Catholics could wait, and strengthen themselves, and live through this temporary period. Another opinion among them was that, though the Government was temporary, the present situation might last long; and, as the Soviet authority was strengthening itself, the Church would have to fight it. So thought Budkiewicz and others, who recommended passing from the defensive to the offensive.

What about the decision of the clergy to buy Bolshevik publications in order to show Catholics the real intentions of the Bolsheviks? What about the campaign from the pulpit against "the Bolshevik plague"? Did these concern only the Church disestablishment decree or not? The representatives of the Church identify the Bolsheviks as a rule with the State authorities.* . . .

Ropp and Cieplak preached in all the churches about the separation of the schools from the Church. What was their object? If a preacher tours through villages and towns, and, in the quiet atmosphere of Sunday, tells what terrible things can happen as a result of the un-Christian education of children, what political results can we hope for from this political propaganda?

This circular of Cieplak's (about education) was not a private matter; it was made public at a meeting of the clergy. Can we call this resistance to a particular part of the decree? (Bobrishchev-Pushkin had stated that there was only resistance to a particular part of the Church disestablishment decree.) We must think about this matter logically; we are not children. Not for nothing have we been strengthening for five years this revolutionary Government. Not for nothing has each of us from fifteen to twenty years of revolutionary work to his credit. (Cheers.) It is not for you [pointing to the prisoners] to teach us how to make a revolution. For this reason I object to all these casuistical discussions in this court.

The accused further desired that certain categories of citizens should be allowed to act according to instructions received from a person not belonging to this State, and having no rights here, and having no representative here. Who interprets Soviet law, the Roman Pope or the Soviet Government itself? They propose that a person living outside Russia should decide on questions affecting the national revenue.† On what basis could they do so? What right have they? And you [Bobrishchev-Pushkin] come here and say that such aims, such

* So does Krylenko in the preceding sentences. The Bolsheviks pretend that the Bolshevik Party, the Soviet Government, and the Third International are independent organizations, whereas they are all three under the same leadership, forming a most unholy trinity.

† The confiscation of Church property affected the question of national revenue.

activities cannot be considered as attempts against the fundamental principles of our Constitution.

With regard to the requests for financial assistance from the Polish Government, it is not the amount of that assistance that I object to, but the very fact of illegal connection with the representative of a foreign State, as well as the conclusion of transactions which were forbidden by the existing laws, and the ignoring of such laws—this is what is important. And who will say that an organization which aims at resistance to the Soviet laws is not counter-revolutionary ?

You say this organization acted by legal, peaceful means, and was to begin with a petition. The situation was as follows: First came the decree and, after it, the agreements. The agreements were signed in several places. The Church property passed to " the twenties." " The twenties " existed and functioned. In view of the fact that " the twenties " created by these organizations were fictitious, they were absolutely dependent on the Church. Did these men honestly attempt to conform to the really severe conditions of the Soviet Government ? What else did they want ? You say that they fought for a principle. The main thing is that they feared their power would be weakened. One year passed, then another. Finally, the decree was published and the second phase of their activities began. They commenced to draft petitions, to collect signatures, to send petitions to the Government. These were legal means. By preaching sermon after sermon, they succeeded in creating a certain atmosphere. Finding that the petitions were unsuccessful, they returned to their parishes, reassembled their parishioners, and discussed projects for the amendment of the decrees, etc. What did this mean ? It meant that the priests wanted to concentrate the public opinion of working people in order to drag them into a particular political movement. One of the accused remarked, lightly, in this court that they were charged with ringing the church bells. Are you aware that a law of August, 1918, decrees the punishment of all persons who ring church bells outside service hours ? We used to shoot people for such things, because, in 1918, this was the method by which the popes (Orthodox priests) incited " the praying ones " against the Soviet " robbers."

" A boy came and rang the bell," quoth one of the accused. Why did he ring the bell just at the moment when the police came to close the church ?* The result of this was that a crowd

* The futility of this argument will be realized when it is remembered that the Catholics, the majority of them Poles, constituting only a small proportion of the Petrograd population, and being all of them unarmed, would be very unlikely to sound the tocsin as a signal for an insurrection against the Bolshevik Government, which, not to mention the large number of armed Communists who are at its disposal, has 40,000 Red soldiers in Petrograd, all of them filled with

assembled and started throwing stones at the police. These are political facts which we cannot neglect. These activities of which we complain were primarily political activities. We see here the methods of these activities, activities aiming at our disorganization, methods based on Jesuit policy. We see on one side legal action such as petitioning the authorities, on the other side an illegal attempt to concentrate the people on the ground of these legal steps. We used to do the same, though without this Jesuitical ambiguity. In 1904 we attempted to concentrate the masses so as to strike at the decayed Tzarist system, but we spoke of that concentration frankly. We might have expected political frankness in this case, too. But the existence of a counter-revolutionary organization has been proved, and the leaders of that organization should be severely punished. I do not think the method of punishment proposed by Bobrishchev-Pushkin meets the requirements of the case. What does it mean to deport the accused ? It means to throw the fish into the water. I shall put the question as follows: It is the duty of the law not only to foresee a crime, but also to prevent a new crime [of the same kind] being committed by the hesitating elements in the population. To translate this into plain language, we should act so that others will not be tempted. If others see that such acts are not punished, they will do the same. Let me tell you [turning towards the accused] that you have failed in your throw, and now you must carry your cross.

It would be an insult to my readers, even to the youngest and most inexperienced of them, to enter into a detailed criticism of Krylenko's speech. I have, however, drawn attention to one or two points where a knowledge of present conditions in Russia is necessary. I will now draw attention to another such point. Krylenko says that the Bolshevik plots for the overthrow of the Tzarist Government were conducted openly and frankly. Now, I was in Russia in 1906, and I know that all the craft which Krylenko at-

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a racial hatred of the Poles. For the same reason the analogy with the bell-ringing indulged in by the Orthodox priests in 1918 is doubly false: in the first place, because those Orthodox priests were really in a position to provoke an insurrection, whereas the Catholic priests were not; in the second place, because the Orthodox priests rang their bells in 1918 at a time when the Soviet Government was in desperate straits and extremely unstable, while the Catholic boy rang the church bell on July 28, 1922, at a time when the Soviet Government had overcome all its enemies and was extremely strong, at the time when I heard M. Litvinov declare at the Hague that the Russian Government was the strongest in the world. Yet Krylenko endeavours to persuade us that this invincibly strong Government was in danger of falling, like the walls of Jericho, because a boy rang a bell.

tributes to the Jesuits was displayed by the Communists themselves. They utilized strikes among workmen and discontent among soldiers and nationalistic strivings among subject races in order to establish a system wherein a strike is mutiny, wherein the strictest discipline is maintained in the army, and wherein all nationalistic aspirations are crushed with a hand of iron. They now admit themselves that they practised this duplicity; but it is obviously impossible for me to say more on this subject here.

If I had more space at my disposal I should be tempted to apply Krylenko's arguments to a hypothetical case in which the Archbishop of Canterbury and the leaders of the Nonconformist Churches would be tried in Westminster Hall for encouraging religious education under a Bolshevik *régime* in England; but I must leave this analogy to my readers themselves. I shall only say that the combined sophistry and violence of Krylenko's speech was probably due to the fact that, towards the end of 1922, he had been asked by the Soviet Government to express a professional opinion on the evidence against the Petrograd clergy, and that he had declared there was a strong case to go upon. Under these circumstances he would naturally move heaven and earth to secure a conviction.

THE ADVOCATE KOMMODOV.

The court will show us justice. The struggle with the Bolshevik infection, as they [pointing to the accused] understand it, means the struggle with atheism. They would struggle in the same way against Baptists, Mohammedans, and others. To assert is one thing, to prove is another.

THE ADVOCATE BOBRISHCHEV-PUSHKIN.

If we regard the Catholic Church as an anti-revolutionary organization with its centre situated outside Russia, there is only one way to deal with the case—a new massacre of St. Bartholomew.

FEDOROV'S FINAL REMARKS.

FEDOROV: I have no more to say. Our hearts are full, not of hatred, but of sadness. You cannot understand us. We are not allowed liberty of conscience. That is the only conclusion we can draw from all we have heard here.

THE PRESIDENT: Is that your conclusion ?

FEDOROV: That is my conclusion, and beyond that a painful impression. There is nothing more that I can say.

The Exarch then sat down. It was extremely fortunate that he had undertaken his own defence, for, despite Judge Galkin's continual interruptions, his own speech that day had done more to place things in their proper light than the four orations delivered by the lawyers who defended the Latin priests. In his case, too, there could be no question of Polish intrigue, for he is a Russian of the Russians, and owes no obedience to Archbishop Cieplak. His immediate superior, as he himself pointed out, is Archbishop Sheptitsky, who is anything but *persona grata* with the Polish Government, which so resented what it regarded as his anti-Polish speeches in America, and so dreaded his influence over the East Galician nationalists, that, on August 12, 1923, it stopped the train in which he was travelling from Vienna to Lvov, and made him proceed to Posen, where he is now (September, 1923) living.

That Mgr. Fedorov is not only a Russian, but also very patriotic, in the best and highest sense of the word, was shown in his eloquent peroration next day—a peroration which I can only, unfortunately, reproduce in a crude and abbreviated form, for I have been careful not to impair the authenticity of my report by any expansion of the rough notes in my possession or by any attempt to give those notes a literary form.

Despite his unfamiliarity with legal technicalities, Fedorov had been able to show what a farce this trial was, and of what inconsistencies the Bolsheviks had been guilty; but he did this incidentally, as it were, and in a tone of gentle and sorrowful remonstrance, like one whose case is so overwhelmingly strong that he does not need to stress it, like one who is less anxious to save his own life than to save the souls of his persecutors from a foul and obvious act of injustice. Although a man of acute and highly trained intellect, a master of logic, and, I am told, of indignant rhetoric as well, he was on this occasion no forensic gladiator, cutting and thrusting viciously and skilfully; he was a Christian priest,

inspired by faith of an intensity rare in these days, clearly without hope that his words would have any effect (hence the deep sadness in his voice), but full of charity even for his enemies.

He pointed out that, while he was being tried for belonging to a secret organization, the Soviet Government had known all along of the existence of that organization, had known of all the meetings which it held, and had never objected to those meetings. This was another instance of the usual Bolshevik muddle, with one prominent member of the Government permitting a practice while another member of the Government makes out that it is a heinous crime. In this case the official who permitted was Krasikov, the same Krasikov who denied, a few hours before, that he had had any " official " knowledge of the Vatican's acquiescence in the signing of the agreements, despite the fact that Cardinal Gasparri's telegram to that effect had been put into his hand and that he himself had translated it. He was in court during Fedorov's speech, but though he smiled a sickly smile, he did not speak.

Fedorov also pointed out the contradictions between the decree of separation and the regulations which followed them, though unfortunately I was unable to get all he said on this subject; and of course the Bolshevik press did not publish a single word of it.

He talked frankly about the blasphemous and obscene processions which, with the approval and encouragement of the Soviet Government, traversed the streets of Moscow and Petrograd last Christmas Day.

He quoted Bonch-Bruevich, one of the Bolshevik leaders, as having told him that it was his sacred duty to teach children their religion, though Krasikov said that he would be arrested if he did so; and the Exarch might have added that, on the first day of the trial, Krylenko assured Father Yanukovich that he was within his rights in preparing children for confession. In other words, Fedorov laid his finger on one of the weakest points in the whole Soviet system, a point which is well protected, however, by a Bolshevik taboo which prevents anyone in Russia from talking or writing about it—namely, the contradictions that exist not

only between one leader and another, but sometimes between one law and another.

Above all, he was able to turn for a moment a fierce searchlight on the infamous decree which prevents Christians from teaching religion to their children, though it does not prevent Bolshevik schoolmasters from corrupting those same children by means of obscene lectures and films on the subject of "sex hygiene," and from ramming the errors of Communism into their immature little heads.

He also dwelt on the unfairness of prosecuting Catholics for their failure to surrender, for famine-relief purposes, a few chalices of little value, while other Catholics were feeding 120,000 Russian children, and the Soviet Government was gratefully accepting this charitable assistance.

These were home truths with a vengeance, home truths which were all the more effective by reason of the moderation with which they were stated; and the savage interruptions of Galkin and Krylenko showed how much they smarted under them. No wonder the judge objected to "a reasoned argument." No wonder he prevented the Exarch from developing his best points. No wonder he was in haste to consign that fine intellect to ten years in a prison which will blunt and corrode it. . . . Eismont is now insane.

The Bolsheviks were right, from their own point of view, when they refrained from trying the French Dominican along with the other Petrograd priests; but by placing the Exarch in the dock, they committed a fatal strategic blunder. And they committed that blunder because of their bad "intelligence," and of their unwise contempt for those whom they regarded as the enemy. They never took the trouble to ascertain what manner of man the Exarch was, or whether he was subject or not to the jurisdiction of Archbishop Cieplak.

This day's eventful proceedings ended with Galkin announcing that "the court stands adjourned till to-morrow."

CHAPTER VIII

LAST DAY OF THE TRIAL: PALM SUNDAY

THE trial, which began on March 21 with an almost empty hall, ended on Palm Sunday, March 25, in the presence of a crowd which filled the court to its fullest capacity. Even the staircases and corridors outside were crowded with people unable to gain admittance. Many of the non-Communist Russians who attended had been attracted, I think, by the dramatic nature of the proceedings; by the bold confessions of faith, reminding one of the early Christians and of Sinkiewicz's *Quo Vadis;* by the medieval touches, reminding one of the efforts made by several Continental Princes long ago to control the communications between their Bishops and the Vatican, and of the conflict between the Popes and the Emperors; by the report that men being tried for their lives had calmly announced their intention of disobeying the Soviet law whenever that law came into conflict with their conscience, though they would almost certainly have been released if they had promised obedience.

I am firmly convinced that they would have been released had they promised (1) to sign the agreements, (2) to submit their sermons to the censor, (3) not to teach religion any more to children, (4) not to say Mass in future without the permission of the Government, and (5) to approve publicly of the Bolshevik policy, as Bishop Antonin, Father Vvedensky, and other living Church leaders had approved of it. My conviction on this point becomes all the stronger when I consider the remarkable words used by Krylenko in his speech on Saturday. "Let them take their own measures (to dissociate themselves). Let them rally to our side. Then we may consider whether we may parley with them." This being the case, Mgr. Budkiewicz was, in my opinion, a martyr, and the others are confessors in the strictest sense of these words.

As I have already remarked, most of the non-Communists who attended the trial were probably attracted by its dramatic appeal. The Russians are extremely fond of dramatic spectacles; and though there were some very good things " on " in the theatres that evening, the tragedy which had been staged by the Supreme Revolutionary Tribunal surpassed them all. Its only drawbacks, apparently, were a disregard for the unities, a tendency to let the proceedings drag, and inordinate long intervals between the " acts." During the interval of eight solid hours which divided the two " acts " performed this last day, the Communist portion of the audience yawned, looked bored, and all but stamped with their feet like a crowd of " gods " rendered impatient by a long delay in the raising of the curtain. Some of the newspaper correspondents who had taken a box at the ballet that night, and who were torn by a desire to be in the two places at once, compromised by hasty visits to the court in the intervals between the acts at the Bolshoï Theatre.

To some of those Russians the trial may have done spiritual good. Several of them, including Krylenko and the judges, who, in all probability, had never before heard a sermon on Palm Sunday or on any other Sunday, listened on this occasion to half a dozen sermons, some of supreme eloquence, though the least part of that eloquence lay in the words actually used. I was not surprised to learn afterwards that, as a result of this trial, an important Bolshevik official is thinking of entering the Church of Rome.

At noon the court was convened, and, immediately afterwards, Archbishop Cieplak stood up to say his last words.

At the beginning of the trial the Archbishop had looked feeble and worn, as well he might, for he is sixty-five years of age, which is equivalent to eighty in England or America, and he was brought every day from the filthy Butyrka Prison in a patrol waggon or Black Maria of the G.P.U. But when, on March 24, he heard Krylenko demand the death penalty for him, he seemed rejuvenated. The colour came back again into his pale cheeks, the sparkle of youth came back again into his eyes, his tall figure straightened, and, in his long, black cassock fastened at the waist by a broad, reddish sash, he looked what he was—a Prince of the Church, the

spiritual head of all the Russian Catholics from the Baltic to the Pacific.

As he stood up to speak on that memorable Palm Sunday, his face shone with a serene delight, his grey hair had been brushed carefully back, and he had been able, apparently, to procure a new skull-cap and a sash of bright violet-red, which the reporters mistook for red, though, being only suffragan bishop of Moghilev, Cieplak was not entitled to wear a Cardinal's badges. That right, enjoyed by very few Archbishops, was conceded, 300 years ago, to the Primates of Muscovy; and I need not point out why, some nineteen centuries before the Reds of Russia were heard of, the colour of blood had been chosen for a Cardinal's robes.

But it is almost as dangerous to be a Catholic Archbishop in Russia as it was to be a Catholic Cardinal in pagan Rome. Mgr. Cieplak's predecessor, Baron von Ropp, had been subjected by the Imperial Government to house-arrest extending over a period of ten years, and he was only released by the revolution to be imprisoned again by the Bolsheviks, who would probably have put him to death had not the present Pope, while Delegate Apostolic at Warsaw, arranged to exchange him for the Bolshevik leader, Karl Radek, then under arrest in Berlin. Mgr. Kluczynski, Archbishop von Ropp's predecessor in the episcopal See of Moghilev, had also been ten years a prisoner when Kerensky set him free, but he also was arrested by the Bolsheviks, who only gave him his liberty, in the spring of 1920, on condition that he went to Poland, which he did.

The persecutions which he and his predecessors had undergone, the danger in which he stood by reason of his primacy, the heritage of suffering to which he had succeeded, his own dignified bearing, and his touching words made a deep impression when Archbishop Cieplak began to speak; and when he mentioned, quite simply, the indubitable fact that he stood "on the threshold of death," a profound hush, with something of awe in it, settled down on that hostile audience of Red soldiers, atheists, sneerers, and demoralized students. Some of these had been all their lives listening incredulously to the formal assertions of Churchmen, who chanted melodiously at great religious functions that they

were ready to die for Christ, but who, when the test came, acknowledged, some of them, "the Living Church." Here at last was a Churchman that knew how to die.

ARCHBISHOP CIEPLAK.

After what has been said by our honourable counsel, I, standing on the threshold of death, can only affirm on my word as a priest and a Bishop, on my word of honour, that we have never founded any secret organization and have never pursued nor intended to pursue any political end. The idea of a counter-revolution did not enter our minds. We have throughout been loyal citizens of the R.S.F.S.R. (Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic), and have executed, as far as possible, all the decrees of that Government. We rejoiced over the proclamation of the great principle of liberty of conscience, because by it we had obtained the right to live according to the laws of our Church, a right which was grudged or denied us, Catholics, under the Imperial Government. It is the duty of every Catholic to obey his religious superiors and to guard the rights of his Church, and this duty was the more incumbent upon me that, being set in this country as the guardian of the faith and of the truth, I was bound to give an example to the priests under me and to the flock entrusted to my care.*

We were doing no harm to the State; nay, I am profoundly convinced that we were promoting its well-being by enlightening our people, and by giving them, instead of superstition, the faith of God.

Our great endeavour has always been to preach, and to realize in our own lives, that divine truth which, now for near two thousand years, has been the light of the world, has been hailed as the truth by the greatest of human intellects, and has led humanity to attain its highest development. And the end of all our efforts is that we stand here in the dock, accused of plotting a counter-revolution.

My companions and I deny this accusation with indignation. Our activities had no counter-revolutionary character whatever.

* Here Judge Galkin deliberately lighted a cigarette.

I stand to-day before an earthly tribunal, and may soon appear before the judgment-seat of God. My hope now is that this earthly tribunal will show me justice, as I surely trust that my heavenly Judge will show me mercy.

(*Sentenced to death. Sentence commuted to imprisonment, but Dr. Walsh, who saw him in November,* 1923, *reports that he is dying.*)

Mgr. Maletzky.

Mgr. Maletzky followed. I have already described this saintly old gentleman, and I shall only add here that, owing to his magnificent voice and perfect articulation, it was a pleasure to hear him. Had the hall been twice as large as it was, he would have been heard distinctly at the farther end; not a word would have been lost.

He began by saying—not boastfully, but as naturally and simply as he would have said that he was sixty-five years of age—that he was the son of a rich gentleman : a bold confession to make to a court which holds that a gentleman must necessarily be an exploiter of the poor; and he spoke with pride and with warm praise of the piety and uprightness of his father.

Mgr. Maletzky's Speech.

I concur with the words of my Superior, and I might add that to help the unfortunate is our aim, to collect money, not for ourselves, but for the poor.

The social position of all my colleagues has been mentioned. Mine only has not been mentioned. I will make good this defect in your information, for something which befell me in early life will, I hope, explain my religious point of view somewhat to the court. I am sprung from an old, rich, and noble family; and my father, who was a military engineer under the Tzar Nicholas I, taught me to love and respect all mankind. When I was twelve years old, I was a proud child. The incident I wish to relate to you is as follows: I was rude on one occasion to the porter of our house, and called him *duràk* (idiot). My father heard of this, and sent for me. When I entered his study, the old porter was seated in front of him, and my father said to me: " Kneel down, kiss his hand, and ask his pardon !" (which I did).

That incident has had a great influence on my life. If my judges were Christians, I would tell them that God used that event to call me to the priesthood, and to make me love the poor. I have since founded and directed in Petrograd various homes for poor children of all religious denominations. Though I am addressing citizens who are not Christians, they can understand, I think, how it came to pass that such a father implanted in my soul the idea that all men are equal.

Our Catholic faith teaches this truth.

I studied at the school of St. Anne, and my master, Sergiev, used to teach us always to heed the truth and to practise it. Therefore the court will understand why I struck out the signature which I had affixed to the agreement, which was not really the agreement that Mgr. Budkiewicz had drawn up. My regard for truth obliged me to do this. I could not have done it if my conscience had not told me that it was the right thing to do. If a man is master of himself and serves an ideal, he will not judge too severely those whose ideals are different from his.

The essence of Christianity is to love and respect all men. I beg you to note this, for it is in obedience to this Christian idea that I accept all laws, so long as they do not conflict with my conscience as a religious man. My first aim in life is to serve the truth and, after that, to execute the decisions of the Government so far as those decisions do not contradict the principles of my faith.

(*Sentenced to three years' imprisonment. Stricken by paralysis in prison, November,* 1923.)

This crude translation of Mgr. Maletzky's speech conveys only the faintest idea of how extraordinarily touching that speech was. The Bolsheviks must indeed be blind if they cannot see that a religion which makes a rich man's son devote his life to the poor must be infinitely superior to their religion of cant and cruelty and corruption.

But they certainly seemed to see that Mgr. Maletzky was a singularly sincere and unselfish man whom it might be very unsafe to cross-examine, for they hardly asked him to say anything; they never interrogated or heckled him; they seemed, indeed, to be afraid of him; and, finally, they

sentenced him to only three years' imprisonment, which, in comparison with most Bolshevik sentences, was a mere nothing.

Speech of Mgr. Budkiewicz.

The leaders in the struggle for the interests of the proletariat accuse us of hatred towards them. The citizen Procurator accuses us of harbouring political hatred of Bolshevism, because he cannot understand any other hatred of the principles of Bolshevism. He cannot understand that we hate Bolshevism from a religious point of view. I see incredulity on the face of the Procurator (who was, as a matter of fact, smiling broadly). Persons not educated in Christian principles cannot understand this. They cannot understand that those who oppose them have no political hatred in their hearts. They regard us as their enemies, but the Roman Catholic clergy do not know and cannot know what hatred is; they are educated in the spirit of love for their fellow-men. Their life is based, not on sentiment, but on certain spiritual ideas.

I understand this hatred, but hatred and anger are not in us. We are trained to search into the *cordis intima*, as the Latin has it, into the very depths of our hearts, and we may not nourish hatred; it is the teaching of the Church that if I do not master this passion of hatred I cannot receive absolution, so grave an evil is it in our eyes.

And then there is that other idea, the idea of a campaign, of a conflict. Some of my companions have adopted this word "conflict," but I say: "No, there has been no campaign, no conflict—only self-defence." We have neither the power nor the right to enter into a political conflict. The Roman Catholic Church is far above all political parties. . . .

To one of the most eminent representatives of the present Government I declared, on one occasion, that Communism is a beautiful theory, but one which it is very difficult to apply in practice. . . .

Our Church forbids us to make political speeches. For us to take any part in politics would be to fall away from our Christian ideals. We defend ourselves only when it is our

Christian teaching that is attacked. We distinguish between the parties on the side of the Government. We distinguish between parties and the State. We draw a clear distinction between the social aims of Communism and its other tendencies, between the Communist theory and those principles which challenge the Christian faith. Christianity regards Communism only from the religious standpoint. It does not matter to us under what social order, under what form of Government we live. The Roman Catholic clergy are not concerned with the social system. The only thing that concerns them is religion.

I must admit that the citizen Procurator was quite right, from his point of view, when he asked me where was my head when I decided to conduct a campaign against the Soviet Government. Had I really decided to conduct such a campaign, I could certainly be said to have lost my head. But, as a matter of fact, I have my head on my shoulders and am neither a lunatic nor an idiot. (Here Krylenko laughed, and interpolated some remark, apparently to the effect that he had never taken Mgr. Budkiewicz for a fool.) The Procurator spoke logically. Now, if an intelligent man was logical, he would understand that every other intelligent man tried, when he began a struggle, to measure his intentions by the means at his disposal, that every other intelligent man who was thinking of a conflict would look for ways and means. But what were the means at the disposal of the Catholic Church in such a campaign ? Its only weapon was the faith. It could not conduct any campaign, for the Catholic Church is bound, in principle, to recognize the laws existing in the State, otherwise the Catholic Church itself could not exist.

I say, then, that I was plotting no conflict against the Government. What, then, is my crime ? I am accused of having provoked the closing of the churches. The Catholic Church is bound to submit to the laws of the country, and to busy itself solely with the propagation of the faith. My superiors would have disowned me if I had conspired to resist the laws of the country I inhabit. The word " agreement " did indeed tempt me; no penalty was attached to the refusal to sign. For my own part, I should consider it much more

MGR. BUDKIEWICZ SPEAKING BEFORE SENTENCE WAS PASSED ON HIM.

From Sunday, 1913

expedient to sign this agreement (*i.e.*, provided that permission to do so were obtained from the Holy See). Archbishop Ropp wrote me several letters with which I am now confronted—among them that in which he uses the words " the present Government will not last long "—and deals with the question of the agreement [suggesting that it should be signed before the Holy Father's permission to do so had been received]. Now on this point I am not in agreement with my Archbishop. I have always been in favour of a strictly legal course of action. I am a man of peace, and I was of opinion that the compromise proposed by Archbishop Ropp would cause a feeling of unrest, and would create want of finality and fixity in the future. And I was right, for it is only a clear and definite agreement that engenders good-will—*clara facta amicos faciunt*, as the saying goes, though I know well that an analogy is not an argument.

I opposed the policy of Archbishop Ropp because I regarded those agreements as fictitious; and this view of the matter was justified, for in the first place the Soviet Government did not collapse, as the Archbishop thought it would; and in the second place, the Pope prohibited the signing of the agreements. I thought that, instead of fictitious agreements, permanent agreements should be entered into, agreements which would not violate the fundamental principles of the Church. But that demanded time. It also demanded energetic representations to the Soviet Government and negotiations with the Vatican. I spared no effort to find a *modus vivendi* with the Bolshevik authorities. If I had had the right to decide in this case, everything would have been settled quietly, and we would not be standing in the dock to-day. . . . When the authorities called on me to convene a meeting of my parishioners, I attempted to do so; but I did not know to whom I should apply for permission to hold such a meeting, and I could not find a suitable hall, so that for several years the meeting was postponed from one Sunday to another. Finally, my parish had no sooner decided what line to take than the churches were all closed. It is not my fault if my plan for a peaceful solution of the question of the decree did not succeed.

The citizen Procurator has done me too much honour in

calling me the organizer and leader of the counter-revolutionary activities of the Catholic clergy. I am only a priest who tried to execute peacefully a legal plan for signing the agreements. I merely put on record all our many attempts to harmonize religious interests with life as we have to live it in the Soviet State. I am not speaking calmly now, because I am excited; usually I speak much more calmly. . . . The important point is this: we could not sign any agreement without the permission of the Holy See. Excommunication is not an empty threat. And so my plan for the settlement of the question of the agreements came to nothing.

I deny the accusation that I formed a counter-revolutionary organization. No such organization ever existed among the Catholic clergy of Petrograd. The only organization to which we belong is the Catholic Church. The priests only met to consult one another on current topics, and to discuss those topics from a religious and canonical point of view. They discussed questions in connection with their parishes and with the faith. Those meetings had a purely advisory character; and any memoranda that I put on paper were for my own private use, to assist my memory, and to avoid repeating what had already been said (not for distribution to others). In looking through my papers, it is easy to follow the thread of ecclesiastical affairs and questions —ecclesiastical, I repeat, and ecclesiastical only; there was nothing political in them. I was so fully persuaded that there was nothing illegal about the steps I took that I was never at pains even to go carefully through all these papers which I had written so long before. I admit that in one of my memoranda I used the words " the time is now arrived to pass from the defensive to more or less of an offensive "; but those words cannot be taken literally. They did not mean an offensive against the State; they meant petitions to the Government.*

* At this point the Bolshevik pamphlet adds that Mgr. Budkiewicz admitted that there were contradictions in his evidence, but urged that they were a sign of truth, not of falsehood, as he had forgotten the contents of many documents with which he was confronted. I did not hear Mgr. Budkiewicz make any such admission, which appears in none of the reports published at the time

To conclude, I have done nothing contrary to the law. I am neither the originator of any propaganda nor a leader of any kind—that would be too great an honour for me. I did, indeed, organize in connection with St. Catherine's Church all the schools for working-class children; and I state this, not to curry favour with you, but to prove that the work I gave myself to do was in no way counter-revolutionary.

(*Condemned to death.*)

One passage in Mgr. Budkiewicz's speech may excite incredulity, even among readers who sympathize with the speaker. It is the passage, towards the end, in which he says that for years he could not convene a meeting of his parishioners for want of a suitable hall and of the necessary permission from the Bolshevik authorities. I am convinced, however, that he is not exaggerating, for the muddle and chaos which prevails in Soviet Government departments is almost incredible. Despite their pose of hectic energy; despite their habit of working all night amid the banging of doors, the ringing of telephone bells, the rattle of typewriters, and the constant arrival and departure of messengers; despite their custom of even having their meals served up, not in proper dining-rooms and on table-cloths, but in their offices and on tables littered with papers, while they sign documents between each mouthful and try to dictate orders to stenographers, and at the same time to conduct multiple conversations with visitors sitting on desks or standing around, smoking, in hats and overcoats—despite all this, I say, the Bolshevik leaders are slow, muddled, unsystematic, and unbusinesslike, and waste a great deal of time. Their affectation of hurry is the affectation of a child who has got a new toy in the shape of a railway train. The Russian Empire is their new toy. Hence it is very probable that, though

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by the *Izvestia* and the *Pravda*. Moreover, even Krylenko never accused Budkiewicz of having contradicted himself. The only authority for that statement is the pamphlet, which is very inaccurate and very carelessly put together. It does not give the speeches in their proper order, and it omits all of the very important statements Fedorov made on March 24, between Krylenko's second and third speeches.

one Government department ordered Mgr. Budkiewicz to convene a meeting of his parishioners, another Government department withheld for years the necessary permit. In the same way, while Chicherin was engaged in affable correspondence with Cardinal Gasparri, the documents which formed the subject of that correspondence—viz., the very concise and businesslike propositions of the Vatican apropos of the purchase of confiscated altar-plate—were " snowed under " by a drift of papers on Lenin's desk, where they are probably lying still. Or, to take another instance of this muddle, we find that, early in March, 1923, Krasikov, in one part of the Ministry of Justice, was conducting amicable negotiations about the Petrograd churches with the representative of the Holy See, while somebody else, in another part of the same Ministry, was issuing orders for the closing of those churches and the arrest of their incumbents on a capital charge arising out of the failure of those clergymen to agree promptly to the very decree which was the subject of those amicable negotiations.

I might remark here that while Mgr. Budkiewicz was pleading for his life, all three judges were calmly smoking cigarettes.

Father Anthony Vassilevsky.

The accused denied the allegations of the witnesses, in particular the accusations of Liapunov and Vassiliev. The congregation saw off all the representatives of the Soviet Government with blessings! The excitement and disorder of the crowd existed only in the imagination of the witnesses. The Church treasures were unjustly confiscated. He concluded as follows: " The Church is my Mother, I am her son; and, as a loving child, I must obey my Mother when she clearly says to me: ' Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and to God the things that are God's.' "

(*Sentenced to three years' imprisonment.*)

Father Peter Yanukovich.

The defendant waived his right of final reply.

(*Sentenced to three years' imprisonment.*)

FATHER STANISLAUS EISMONT.

Accused referred to his parishioners, the workmen of the Putilov factory, and repudiated with indignation the charge of counter-revolutionary activity. Then he said:

The witness who testified against me was guilty of exaggeration. In explaining the decree to the people, I endeavoured to bring it into force without creating disturbances. I believed that, as a Catholic priest, I had no right to sign any agreement whatsoever affecting the property of the Church. There was no demonstration against the Government of the State. There was simply a certain conflict between our rights according to canon law and the Government ordinances. But a solution was being reached by degrees on practical lines. The Soviet Government itself saw the point at issue and drew up the familiar form of receipt [for the property which was to be handed over]. I do not admit having committed any counter-revolutionary act, and I have nothing to reproach myself with that can be brought under the article which involves the penalty of being shot. I have never plotted against the Soviet Government, but have only endeavoured to comply with the orders of the authorities, and that was all I worked to accomplish.

There was no crowd at my church—only a few persons. . . . According to the Constitution, the Soviet Government allows liberty of conscience and the right of religious propaganda. The Catholic Church never interferes in politics; the Catholic clergy only want to enjoy the rights which have been granted to them by the Constitution; and the representatives of the State ought to permit the Catholic Church to exist on Russian territory in such a way that it can be administered in the interior of Russia according to its own laws, harmonized with the exigencies of life in this country; otherwise we are deprived of liberty of conscience and of propaganda. We use our influence without force; we simply instruct and strengthen the soul by grace. The love of God before all things, and the love of our neighbour, that is our gospel.

Oh that you could realize our lofty ideal of Catholic Christianity, so that you might find a way to permit the free existence of Catholics in the Soviet Republic!

(*Sentenced to ten years' imprisonment. He is now insane.*)

Father Edward Yunevich.

When Father Edward Yunevich rose to address the court, his good-looking face, youthful appearance, and graceful figure provoked particular attention and caused all *les grandes dames bolshéviques* who were present in the audience to level their opera-glasses at him. They had frequently done so before, and the young priest had frequently looked at the audience; but he had never looked at them. On such occasions his eyes always sought, with comforting, sympathetic glances, the eyes of the poor, aged women of his own faith who, still holding the little presents of bread, butter, and eggs, which they had never been able to deliver, were silently weeping here and there.

He admitted in the course of his speech that he was of a nervous disposition, but this was not apparent from his delivery, which was fluent, or from his manner, which was quite free from all nervousness and self-consciousness. He spoke as follows:

I can say nothing except what those who have spoken before me have said. I wish to assist my judges in their duty of arriving at a just view of my conduct. I will begin from the moment of the October Revolution. To my mind, this event was one of world-wide import. To me it seemed the dawn of liberty, liberty of existence and of thought. A second dawn was my admission at that time to the priesthood; and just before my ordination I heard the thunders which announced the abolition of the Provisional Government. I was then in the seminary, studying my future duties as a Catholic priest, my duties to God, my duties to the State, my duties to my neighbour; but I was unable to complete my full course owing to the closing of the seminary within little more than a year. But it was in the seminary that I heard this news—that liberty had come, that the torch of deliverance had been kindled. I had heard a great deal

about the slavery which existed under the Tzars, of the persecution inflicted on those who fought for their religious convictions, of prisoners exiled in thousands to the woods of Siberia, even of old white-haired priests who were put in irons. I protest that I rejoiced. Comparing the principles of the Tzarist Government with those of the October Revolution, I welcomed the revolution. I knew that it had been impossible for a Catholic priest to exist (freely) in the Russia of the Tzar. I believed at that time that the revolution would deliver us; that it would set us on the path of freedom, and permit us to follow our religious convictions unhindered.

But as political events developed, growing doubts arose in my mind owing to the appearance of the regulations and decrees of the new Government. Though I kept myself, as it were, apart from politics, I was struck by the contradiction between the reality of what was happening and the original watchwords of liberty which I still continued to hear. My anxiety was increased by my excessively nervous temperament, which you have doubtless noticed. The conflict was striking. I was confronted by a painful dilemma. I found that the laws of the Soviet were incompatible with those of the Church. If you fulfil the law of the Church, you sin against the State. If you fulfil the law of the State, you sin against the Church. . . . And when I saw what happened in my church, perhaps I did wrong. I shouted " Von !" (Go away !) to the Bolshevik official who came to my church. This was because of my nervous temperament; but I should not have lost control of myself; no doubt of that. I could only find peace when I turned to prayer, and God, hidden in the Blessed Sacrament, comforted me. But the position came to a critical point. On the one hand I was threatened with being shot, on the other with being excommunicated by my Mother the Church. What was I to do ? Although I had not given any aid to the representatives of the Government, that does not amount to resistance. I could not surely seal up the church with my own hands. I might have made more statements on oath than even the witness Michuvin. I might even have placed the seals on the church door with my own hands. But if Michuvin had given me the seals, that would have been

illegal. I had no fear of the report of the proceedings, but the military representative said, "We are not playing a game," and refused to make a detailed report.

What matters to me, as a Catholic priest, is that now, when all the Catholic clergy of Petrograd have been brought before this court, my parishioners are deprived of spiritual assistance. Petrograd, orphaned of its clergy, groans and weeps at its loss——

THE PRESIDENT: It is totally irrelevant that Petrograd weeps and groans.

YUNEVICH: I wish to declare that, in spite of all these conflicting claims, I will never renounce my Catholic rights, I will never betray the canons of my Church, I will always be subject to the Pope; but in that case, if I wish to be a good citizen of the Soviet Republic, what am I to do? The conflict remains, and even if I return after the ten years' imprisonment, which the Procurator has asked the court to inflict on me, I am faced with the same inevitable dilemma. Any sentence that you pass on me I will receive with dignity. I will not protest against it, for I see in all things the workings of Providence, and I say "Thy will be done."

(*Sentence of ten years' imprisonment.*)

FATHER MATULIANIS.

Citizen judges, I accept your sentence, whatever it may be, and I will only say that I have served the Church* for twenty-three years, and have never taken any part in politics.

(*Sentence of three years' imprisonment.*)

FATHER KHVETZKO.

I will only say a few words. In answer to a question put to me during the trial, I replied, "Yes, I will," meaning that I will continue to teach religion, not that I will be a counter-revolutionary. As a priest to whom the honour of my name is dear, I could not speak otherwise. I deny the Procurator's charge that, when I witnessed the signatures of the congre-

* The Bolshevik pamphlet says "served the Tzar for twenty-three years," but above is what Father Matulianis said.

gation [to the protest], I committed an offence against Article 119 of the Criminal Code. He said that I thereby showed an intent to abolish the Soviet Government, and I reply that I have never had any intention of abolishing the Soviet Government.

(*Sentenced to ten years' imprisonment.*)

FATHER JOHN TROIGO.

I have done none of the things of which I am accused. I could not and I would not have anything to do with politics or with counter-revolution. I am a priest, and have no right to meddle with anything outside my sacred duties. Being a Pole, I could not interfere with the affairs of the Russian people. I am a Polish subject, but (as I am in this country) I thought the laws of the Soviet Republic binding upon me. The accusation made against me must be held unproven and unjust.

(*Sentenced to three years' imprisonment.*)

At this point there was an interruption of a very curious nature. Unfolding a foolscap manuscript, Galkin began reading an extraordinary communication from the Commissariat of Foreign Affairs, but, for some reason or other, this communication was signed "Ganetzky," and not "Chicherin." Ganetzky, whose real name is Fürstenberg, is one of the darkest and most mysterious figures in the Bolshevik hierarchy. Everyone knows who Lenin and Trotzky are, and what they do; nobody knows who Ganetzky is or what he does. Out of complete obscurity he came suddenly into the light, six years ago, in order to arrange with the German authorities for the sending of Lenin in a sealed waggon from Switzerland, through Germany, to Russia; and on that occasion his suggestions were received with such respect, both by the Kaiser's Government and by Lenin, that we should probably be right in assuming that he himself was a Bolshevik leader nominally working in the Secret Service of Germany, really working in the interests of the world revolution.

In the document, which Galkin read very rapidly, Ganetzky stated that the Riga Treaty, or at least those paragraphs

in that treaty which guaranteed religious freedom to Poles in Russia, was no longer valid, because certain Orthodox Russians were being persecuted in Poland. The ironical nature of this argument will be readily appreciated when one reflects on the merciless persecution of Orthodox clergy, culminating in the imprisonment of the Patriarch, which was being carried on at that very moment by the Soviet Government.

None of the Bolshevik newspapers reproduced this letter, and I afterwards found it impossible to get a copy; but from the notes I took at the time in court, I find that Comrade Ganetzky complained that (1) owing to the seizure of their churches by the Poles, 60,000 Orthodox Christians in Poland had been left without a place of worship. (2) On Easter Day, 1921, dynamite was thrown into one Russian church in Poland. (3) In many places all the Russian priests were arrested. (4) The seminaries were closed, and everything in them confiscated.

This amazing communication from the Bolshevik Foreign Office closed with a reverent quotation of " the wise words of Benedict XV " on peace and brotherly love.

Father Paul Khodnevich.

In my last words, I wish to say that my conscience is at peace. I never took part in politics. In all my life, I have never been in conflict with the law, and I never had such intention. It is charged against me as a crime that I was present at the meetings summoned by my ecclesiastical superiors. I had never seen the papers on which this accusation is based until they were produced in court. My name occurs once or twice in a letter I never saw before. What is there counter-revolutionary in what I have done? I have had no connection with any military conspiracy. On that point my conscience is clear. I only occupied myself with religious questions. I am accused of teaching religion in my home to some children. And yet the Procurator has said to Father Maletzky (?): " It is your right to prepare persons for confession and communion." That is just what I have done, and nothing more. When the Communist Commissar

wished to see the Sacred Host, a thing which we do not allow to be inspected, and which to us is the holiest thing in all the universe, I did, I admit, use the words: "Sooner shall you pass over my dead body." Yes, truly I would much sooner have died than have connived at such a sacrilege. I did this simply on account of my religious convictions. And, besides, the priest's *ciborium*, which contains the Holy Eucharist, is necessary for divine service, and as such is not liable to removal from the church. I believe that the court will not punish me for what I did, as I acted only through religious convictions, and had no other motive than a religious one.

(*Sentenced to ten years' imprisonment.*)

Interval of ten minutes.

Father Ivanov.*

I can only repeat what I said at the preliminary investigation. I do not consider myself guilty. I have never belonged to any political organization, and I shall never belong to any. As a priest I obey my conscience, but I also accept the civil laws. If the two come into conflict I shall endeavour to find a conciliatory issue. According to my convictions, I do not approve of the theory of Communism; but though I argue against that theory, I have no animosity against any man. I am convinced that if the Procurator had understood my point of view, he would not have made the speech he did against me, but would have withdrawn the charge against me.

(*Sentenced to three years' imprisonment.*)

Father Francis Rutkovsky.

The entire accusation against me is founded on the testimony of persons who have no understanding of religious ideas or practices. I ask the court, not for mercy, but for justice.

(*Sentenced to three years' imprisonment.*)

* At this point, as I find from my notes, all three judges were calmly smoking cigarettes.

FATHER PRONSKETIS.

I am accused of having fallen on my knees, and thus induced the others present to fall on their knees also and to sing Psalms. I was the last, not the first, to fall on my knees, and only after all the others had done so. I did not fall on my knees for the reason given by the Procurator [*i.e.*, as a signal to the congregation to oppose the Soviet officials who had entered the church], but because it is our custom to kneel down before we leave the church. I remained on my knees in order to avoid an awkward situation. I might have disturbed the faithful. As I am short-sighted, I have often collided with persons at prayer. That was why I sent for the priest Khvetzko to escort me. Prayer has nothing to do with politics. According to our teaching, prayer is the union of the soul with God. This is not punishable by law.

(*Three years' imprisonment.*)

LEONIDAS FEDOROV (EXARCH OF THE GRECO-CATHOLIC CHURCH).

I can do no more than concur in what has been said by His Eminence Archbishop Cieplak. Like him, I was obliged to have regard to my office, and to show a good example to my subordinates. I never did anything secretly, and my cards were always on the table before the Government. No one among the authorities can show anything counter-revolutionary in what I have done. I wish simply to direct the attention of the judges to the words of my colleague, Father Edward Yunevich. His is the cry of a tortured soul, the soul of a Catholic priest summoned before you; and this cry finds an echo in the souls of all of us. If the judges will not listen to him, neither will they understand my frame of mind, and I will calmly accept whatever God shall think fit to send me. Only I beg the judges once more to weigh and consider the situation which has torn this cry from the soul of a Catholic priest. It is, that the painful duty which is laid on us, the sacred duty which as Catholic priests we must perform, is met by a prohibition

of the civil law; we are thus the victims of a misunderstanding, and I can see no way out of it. Father Edward Yunevich has, I think, made clear to you what is in the minds of us all. If Almighty God deigns to accept our sacrifice on this Palm Sunday, if from our bodily sufferings the good seed shall grow and ripen to be received and cherished by our dear country, which I love so much, my heart's desire is that by means of this experience, sad as it may be, she may come to know that the faith of Christ and the Catholic Church are not a political organization, but a community of love. Herein I see the providence of God, the will of God; and in this faith I accept all that He shall send.

(*Sentenced to ten years' imprisonment.*)

CITIZEN SHARNAS simply reaffirmed his previous evidence, given at the preliminary investigation.

(*Sentenced to six months' imprisonment.*)

FINAL SPEECH OF THE PROCURATOR.

The Procurator Krylenko then read the judgment proposed by the prosecution. He again demanded the penalty of death for the four accused — Cieplak, Budkiewicz, Eismont, and Khvetzko—under Articles 63 and 119 of the Criminal Code, which apply to the intentional direction of an organization having for its object the overthrow of the Soviet Government and the weakening of the dictatorship of the proletariat, (thus covering the action of the accused in) arousing amongst large numbers of their congregations resistance to the decrees of the Soviet Government by working upon their religious prejudices. For Fathers Khodnevich, Fedorov, and Yunevich, Krylenko demanded ten years' imprisonment with loss of civil rights; for the other priests sentences of imprisonment ranging from three to ten years at the discretion of the court, with loss of civil rights; and for Citizen Sharnas six months' imprisonment, provisionally. He accused all the clergy in the dock of infringing Articles 8, 9, 12, and 13 of the decree for the separation of Church and State, of organizing methods of resistance designed for the speedy overthrow of the Soviet Government, of organizing a concerted opposition, of an endeavour to

weaken the dictatorship of the working class. Cieplak would not allow the agreements to be signed; Cieplak concealed documents; Cieplak issued the circular laying down the impossibility of surrendering the Church valuables. Mgr. Budkiewicz was the moving spirit of the clerical conferences. The priests Khvetzko, Pronsketis, Yunevich, and Khodnevich directed the opposition. Sharnas decried the authority of the State. Budkiewicz sent the telegram to the Polish Government, although he was a Russian subject and not a Pole. A flagrant conflict between the decrees of the Pope and those of the Soviet Government had been shown. And then there was " the crime of teaching so-called religious knowledge to children."

This was Krylenko's final speech, the fourth bloodthirsty speech which he had delivered during the last two days of the trial; and it is significant that his concluding words emphasized the heinousness of the crime the priests had committed in telling little children about Christ and reading them the Sermon on the Mount. When he had ceased, the judges withdrew to consider their decision. It was then 4 p.m., and the court did not meet again till midnight.

CHAPTER IX

THE SENTENCES, AND AFTER

AFTER Krylenko's last speech the judges retired, ostensibly "to consider their decision," though there was certainly no need to do so, as they had decided long before. Their real reason for withdrawing was, probably, to give the impression that they were bestowing deep thought on the case, and to permit of their passing sentence on the stroke of midnight, for a great deal of the terror inspired by the Bolsheviks is due to the care they take to impress the popular imagination. As no indication had been given of the time when they would return—as a matter of fact, they were absent eight hours, from 4 p.m. to midnight—the major portion of the audience waited, passing the time as best it could in discussing the case and in talking about other things. A large minority went away, however, impatient, to judge by their manner, at the death sentences not being pronounced and the thing finished with. The prisoners had left the platform immediately after the judges, and nobody remained there save Bykov (the clerk of the court), the two stenographers, and one or two other officials. All these sat at Bykov's table, and talked joyously among themselves during all these eight solid hours with all that animation which the Russians exhibit in conversation. Nobody could hear what they said, but, judging from their smiles and their gestures, it had nothing to do with the trial. It was evident, indeed, even to those at the far end of the hall, that Bykov, the lanky youth with the long wisp of fair hair, was flirting outrageously with the pretty brunette typist, or, rather, that she was skilfully drawing him on, for she looked older and more experienced than he; and such members of the audience as had nothing better to engage their attention watched these two, whose love-making was conducted with that naturalness and that utter

absence of self-consciousness which constitute the great charm of most Russians.

It was, indeed, rather a discordant note that they struck, like the jazz band downstairs which played while the prisoners were making their speeches from the dock, like the frieze of gay maidens and naked boys who danced around the walls of the court in merry, endless rout. But such discordant notes have probably been struck in every great, tragic trial of history. In the greatest and most tragic of them all, some smooth-faced young Roman functionary of Pilate's court—oiled, scented, fresh from the bath, clad in spotless white toga—was perhaps employed in very much the same way as Bykov.

Meanwhile a fashionably dressed young woman, agile, self-assured, and easy, had walked up to the right side of the platform without encountering any opposition from the sentries, and, on catching sight of her, Krylenko hastily closed his novel, jumped up, and engaged in a long and earnest conversation with her, she standing below with upturned, animated face, and he on the edge of the platform, his head bent down, and an unaccustomed mildness softening his stern lineaments. She was his wife. Why had she come? Was it to say: "Have nothing to do with those just men; for I have suffered many things this day in a dream because of them"? If so, she was too late.

After a while Krylenko descended from the platform, and both left the court together. The Procurator was absent for eight hours, and only returned, without his wife, when the sentence was being read.

On the stroke of midnight, the prisoners began to file into the dock from the usual entrance in the rear of it, being, as was always the case, preceded, accompanied, and followed by soldiers. About five minutes afterwards the military commandant in charge of the court called out, as usual, for all to stand up as the judges were coming. In another minute the judges took their places, but they remained standing, and so did everybody else. Then Galkin said in a solemn voice, "The sentence of the court will be read out," passing, at the same time, a number of foolscap sheets to Chelyshev, the peasant-judge on his left. This was exactly at ten

minutes past midnight. With some assistance from Bykov, Chelyshev read the long sentence,* which the prisoners, who were standing, of course, like everybody else, heard without a quiver or a gesture or a change of colour. During the reading of the sentence, a man pushed his way hastily through the audience, climbed on to the platform, and took his place at the Procurator's table. It was Krylenko. When Chelyshev had ceased reading, Galkin cried out in a loud voice, " I declare the court closed," and forthwith left the platform by the way he had come, followed by the other two judges.

The final scene will not soon be forgotten by those who witnessed it. The few Polish women who had succeeded in gaining admission threw themselves on their knees with cries of horror and anguish which pierced the stillness of that cold night, and might well have pierced even the heart of Krylenko, who stood regarding them with cold curiosity. Some women struggled towards the dock in order to get the Archbishop's blessing; and one aged Pole, who had been for very many years Mgr. Cieplak's personal servant, made frantic efforts to reach his master. This faithful retainer, who had a white moustache and the bearing of an old soldier, was roughly seized by several Red soldiers; while all the women were similarly treated. Fearing that a rescue would be attempted, the military commandant ordered the room to be cleared, so that I soon found myself being carried through the door in a swift, outgoing, human current. The last glimpse which I caught of the court is the subject of a sketch which is reproduced in this volume. The Polish women were struggling in the arms of the Red soldiers. Some of them were on their knees. Some of them had fallen in hysterics to the floor. The prisoners were still on the platform, and the Archbishop had turned towards the women and raised his hand in a last episcopal benediction—"*Benedicat vos Omnipotens Deus . . .*" Then the soldiers closed in around the prisoners, and hurried them from the court.

A few moments afterwards a huge, covered motor-lorry,

* For the text of the sentence see Appendix III. Archbishop Cieplak and Mgr. Budkiewicz were sentenced to death, and the others were sentenced to various terms of imprisonment.

without any windows save one small, barred aperture behind, halted at another entrance to the building. It belonged to the G.P.U., which used it not only for conveying prisoners to the Lubyanka, but also for conveying dead bodies from the Lubyanka to the morgue of a hospital on the outskirts of the city. A double hedge of soldiers connected the open end of this ominous vehicle with the adjacent doorway, and between this double hedge the prisoners quickly passed into the lorry without any of them being recognized, for they were all wrapped up, owing to the cold, and all spectators were kept at a considerable distance by panicky, excited Reds with rifles and fixed bayonets; in fact, no one was allowed on the footpath for twenty yards on each side of the lorry. In this conveyance the prisoners were brought back to the Butyrka Prison.

During all this mockery of a trial a group of Bolsheviks, interested in misleading public opinion abroad, had stood deliberately between the men in the dock and the outer world. At the head of this group was Moses Valach, *alias* Litvinov, who seems to have discharged at this time, with the consent of Chicherin, all the duties of a Minister of Foreign Affairs. Many foreign representatives called on Chicherin in order to lodge unofficial protests against the prosecution, but Chicherin invariably referred them to Litvinov. That functionary at first assured those visitors that " there will be no shooting," but, towards the end, his tone changed; and to one foreign representative he said: " We are on top now, and we mean to use our power." But Litvinov's official and unofficial agents abroad continued till the last to hold optimistic language.

In charge of the press were Messrs. Weinstein, Kagan (or Cohen), and Rubenstein. Kagan acted as censor in the telegraph office, and struck out of the correspondents' cables everything calculated to excite sympathy with the prisoners. Some correspondents were allowed to argue with Kagan; but he had the last word, so that the general effect of their messages, as they appeared in the Press, was unfriendly to the prisoners. One correspondent had written that " the Polish women in court fell on their knees," but through this sentence Kagan drew his blue pencil, observing

at the same time: "We don't want that to go." Another correspondent had spoken of "the anti-religious movement," but the censor struck out this phrase, on the ground that there was no anti-religious movement. I myself handed in my cables at the telegraph office and let them take their chance, for I strongly disliked arguing about them with Kagan. The result was that, though, naturally, I wrote in a tone of extreme moderation, about eight of my cables out of ten were entirely suppressed without my being informed of this suppression by the censor, though I met that functionary several times in court. I sent carbon copies of those cables to London through two foreign relief missions, but none of those copies ever reached their destination. Whether the Bolsheviks abstracted them from the mission bags (which were supposed to be inviolable), or bribed foreign couriers to hand them over, or received them from the agents of those foreign missions outside Russia, I cannot say; but I do know that Red Russia exercises a bad influence on some of the non-Communist foreigners who have to do with it either as diplomatists or as paid philanthropists or as would-be concessionaires or as journalists. The desire to retain a well-paid post, which they would lose if the Bolsheviks objected to them, or the expectation of getting a concession, sooner or later, from the oligarchs, who have, after all, at their disposal, illimitable potential wealth, leads sometimes to these foreigners exhibiting in their relations with the Bolshevik authorities a degrading and almost incredible servility. "Spot" news is the bribe for "sympathetic" journalists.

A few weeks after the trial had concluded, I was told that my permit to reside in Russia had expired and would not be renewed. I therefore applied for a *visa* to leave, but the granting of it was deliberately delayed, and, meanwhile, I was visited in my lodgings by an agent of the G.P.U. and asked to accompany him at once to the headquarters of the secret police on the Lubyanka. There I was ushered into the presence of Comrade Roller, the head of the Anglo-American section in the G.P.U., who accused me of being a British military spy, and who said that he could show me the original MSS. of certain articles which I had had typed

in London, and whereof the typed copy had reached my newspaper. This threat certainly took away my breath for a few seconds, as it suggested the possibility of the Bolsheviks having agents in the most unexpected quarters in England; and it was clear, from the huge *dossier*, inscribed "the McCullagh case," which lay on Roller's desk, that all my movements since I had arrived in Moscow seven months earlier had been carefully watched and recorded. I energetically maintained, however, that I was a newspaper correspondent and nothing else; and, somewhat to my surprise, I was released after the interrogatory.

Many things had happened, however, before this. Telegrams of protest against the Cieplak trial had poured into the Commissariat of Foreign Affairs from the United States, England, France, Italy, the Vatican, Poland, Belgium, Sweden, Brazil, the Argentine, Switzerland, Rumania, Germany, Czecho-Slovakia, Yugo-Slavia, Spain, Portugal, Ireland, and other countries. M. Roman Knoll, the Polish representative in Moscow, proposed, on March 30, an exchange of prisoners with the object of saving the lives of Archbishop Cieplak and Mgr. Budkiewicz. In all previous cases such offers of an exchange had been successful, but in this case the Soviet Government refused to entertain the proposition, or to give any reasons for this refusal.

The Vatican sent a telegraphic request that the prisoners might be all permitted to leave for Rome *via* Odessa, this specification of the route being due to the Vatican's knowledge of the intense hatred with which the Bolsheviks regarded Poland, and of the suspicion with which they would regard any request that the condemned men should travel to Italy *via* Warsaw. Dr. Walsh was asked by the Vatican to see Kalinin personally on this subject, but his request and that of the Vatican were left unanswered.

Dr. Walsh then wrote to Krasikov and Chicherin asking permission to visit the condemned men before their execution. "The ordinary usage in every civilized country," said he, "has always permitted persons condemned to death such spiritual ministration as their faith requires. In the name, therefore, of the Holy See I request that I be permitted

DR. EDMUND A. WALSH.

FATHER STANISLAUS EISMONT.

(See p. 138)

to spend the two hours before the execution with these men, and that I be allowed to be present at the execution."

No answer was ever returned to this request; but for several days Dr. Walsh expected a reply to come at midnight in the shape of a Red soldier, who would knock at the door of the house in which the Papal delegate lived alone, and ask Dr. Walsh to follow him to the prison. It was an unpleasant prospect, for if Dr. Walsh did follow, he might never return, and the Soviet Government might afterwards explain that he had been killed on the way by bandits. This seemed not at all unlikely, owing to the extraordinary watch that was being kept, day and night, at this time on the Papal Mission. At a dimly-lighted window on the opposite side of the street, two Reds watched that mission continually, not so much, I presume, to frighten the members of the Mission as to keep any Russians from bringing information to it. About this time I passed several nights in the mission in order to give Dr. Walsh the benefit of human companionship at a time when he most needed it, and in order to be a witness if he suddenly disappeared in the manner I have just indicated; and in the beginning I laughed openly at the watchers on the other side of the street, for their conduct seemed to me childish. But very soon that unrelenting scrutiny across a roadway dark as the mouth of the pit, and as deserted as if the district were plague-stricken, began to affect my own nerves, and to make me understand why it was that all our Russian friends gave us as wide a berth as if the devil himself haunted our doorstep.

At twenty minutes past one on the night of Good Friday, March 30, the telephone bell in Dr. Walsh's office suddenly rang. We hated to go into that room because it was a front-room and was, when the electric light was turned on, commanded by the silent and inscrutable eyes on the other side of the street; it seemed, consequently, to be permeated, especially at night, by some influence, occult and intensely malignant. The doctor answered the telephone, but was greeted only by a roar of savage laughter, by ribald singing, and by remarks which he could not understand, and which seemed to come from a room full of people. The same mysterious performance was repeated four times that night

and no explanation of it was afterwards forthcoming; but from that moment the Papal delegate gave up hope as completely as if he had seen Mgr. Budkiewicz shot. That telephone call came, he surmised, from No. 11, Bolshoï Lubyanka, in the cellar of which the unfortunate priest was murdered; and it probably came from the murderers.

The Papal Mission had been allowed to send packets of food to each of the prisoners. Next day the chocolate addressed to Mgr. Budkiewicz was returned, broken as if by a hammer, and by another route came to a Russian friend a scribbled message: "Budkiewicz has been taken away from us." On April 3 the *Pravda* published the following curt announcement: "On March 31 the death sentence was carried out on Mgr. Budkiewicz, who was sentenced in connection with the trial of the Catholic counter-revolutionaries."

No details of the martyr's last moments have so far been published. The Reds still refuse to give the hour and the place of the murder, or to say where the corpse has been buried. From a good source, however, I have obtained the following information: Mgr. Budkiewicz was conveyed to No. 11, Bolshoï Lubyanka on the night of Good Friday, and was immediately made to descend into one of the cellars. The method by which the murder was carried out was deliberately arranged with the object of making the martyr die in as undignified a manner as possible. He was stripped naked and made to traverse a dark corridor leading to another cellar, where an experienced executioner was awaiting him. On reaching the end of this corridor, Mgr. Budkiewicz found himself in a room which was suddenly lit up by a powerful electric light that made the unfortunate priest blink and stagger back awkwardly. Before he had recovered himself, the executioner had shot him through the back of the head; and the bullet, coming out in the centre of the face, had rendered it unrecognizable.

Having satisfied themselves that their victim was dead, the Bolsheviks wrapped the body in a cloth and carried it into a motor-lorry which was in waiting. This motor-lorry brought it to Sokolniki, a summer resort near Moscow, where it was buried with the bodies of nine bandits which had been awaiting interment.

About a week afterwards a Requiem Mass was said for the repose of Mgr. Budkiewicz's soul in the church of SS. Peter and Paul at Moscow. The celebrant was the young vice-rector, the rector having been arrested during the course of the Cieplak trial. In the centre of the church a large black catafalque had been erected, and among the congregation was a member of the British Mission, representing Great Britain officially at this service in honour of a man whom the Soviet Government had executed as a criminal and a spy. Outside the church, during the service, stood the motor-car of the mission, flying the British flag.

Inside, before a statue of St. Peter, hung another flag,* whereon, in letters of gold which reflected the death-lights ranged around the empty coffin, was embroidered Christ's tremendous prophecy: "Thou art Peter, and on this rock I will build My Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it." And in the mournful singing of the choir there was a note of triumph and of hope.

Only a stone's-throw off stood the ancient battlements of the Kremlin, that hoary citadel of the Third Rome, a citadel which is as stained with blood and crime as the Second Rome itself, and is therefore a meet dwelling-place for the extraordinary man who must be held as ultimately responsible for all the horrors which Russia has witnessed during the last six years, as well as for the religious persecutions which I have described in the preceding pages. That man had been sick, but had recovered, and been at work again for three months. On the night after the Archbishop and his companions were paraded in a motor-lorry through the streets of Moscow, the terrible leader of the Reds gazed in horror on one, more terrible than himself, on a dread, nocturnal visitor who, having passed swiftly through the triple guards and the bolted doors, had halted at his bedside and laid an icy hand on that proud and formidable brain. From that day Lenin was a living corpse.†

* See p. 129.

† See footnote, p. 90.

PART III

THE PRESENT POSITION OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCHES IN RUSSIA

" Rapprochons-nous les uns des autres, avec le désir de mieux nous connaître mutuellement et de chercher dans la prière et dans une fraternelle entr-aide les moyens de sauvegarder les fondements de la civilisation chrétienne et de réaliser le vœu suprême d'unité catholique formulé par notre Divin Sauveur."—*Cardinal Mercier to the Russian National Committee of Paris.*

" L'avenir chrétien du monde n'est-il point conditionné tout entier par l'avenir religieux du monde slave, de la Russie en particulier ?"—*Michel d'Herbigny, S.J., Président de l'Institut Pontifical Oriental à Rome.*

CHAPTER I

THE ORTHODOX CHURCH

In this last section of my book I shall try to convey to the reader some idea of the present position of the various Christian Churches in Russia. For two reasons my task will be one of extraordinary delicacy and difficulty: in the first place, I must avoid, as far as possible, offending the susceptibilities of any Christian body, and especially of the Russians, who are morbidly sensitive to any criticism of their persecuted Church; in the second place, the religious situation in Russia is even more chaotic than the political situation, and even more difficult, therefore, to describe. Every witness takes his own view of it, and even in a single community like the Roman Catholic or the Methodist or the Anglican, the religious problem in Russia is viewed from many different standpoints.

Neither Rome nor Canterbury wishes the disruption of the Orthodox Church. Rome does not wish it because it would be easier for her to deal, on the subject of reunion, with one Russian Church than with a multitude of sects. For the same reason, Canterbury also does not wish it; but while, by reunion, Rome means submission, Canterbury certainly does not. But the probabilities are that Orthodoxy will divide into innumerable fragments. In fact, this division is already taking place; and the greatest experts on Russian ecclesiastical affairs have long foretold it. The historian Pogodine, one of the sincerest defenders of the Russian Church, admitted that "once religious liberty is granted in Russia, half the peasants will become dissenters, and half of the aristocracy (particularly the women) will become Catholics." "This means," says Aksakov, another sincere son of the Orthodox Church, "that half the members of the Orthodox Church only belong to it in appearance.

They are retained in its bosom by fear of temporal punishments." The gloomiest prophecy of all comes from Count Joseph de Maistre, whose amazingly accurate forecast of Russia's political future I have already quoted (p. 90), but its violent tone makes me very reluctant to give it at a time like the present, when, in the face of a common danger, Christians should speak of separated brethren in language marked by "*la charité la plus délicate*"—to use the expression of the great Cardinal Mercier.

De Maistre maintained that "no religion, except one, can stand the test of science. . . . Science is a species of acid, which dissolves all metals *except gold.*" Now that the Tzardom no longer prevents this acid from reaching Russia, Orthodoxy there will simply disappear. "Let one of those separated peoples," he says, "be subjected to a revolution like that which desolated France during a quarter of a century; suppose a tyrannical power raging against the Church, slaying, plundering, dispersing the priests; and, particularly, favouring all creeds except the national one—this last will disappear like smoke. France, after the horrible revolution it experienced, remained Catholic. . . . It is quite the reverse with all false religions. As soon as ignorance has ceased to maintain their forms, and they are attacked by philosophical opinions, they fall into a state of dissolution, and hasten on with obviously accelerated motion to utter annihilation. And, as the putrefaction of large organized bodies produces innumerable sects of miry reptiles, national religions, when putrefied, produce in like manner a multitude of religious maggots. . . . These sects are born of the putrefaction of a great body. Such is the order of nature" ("Du Pape," Book IV, chapter iii.).*

The great Anglican revival which marked the first half of the nineteenth century came soon after those words were written.

* In chapter xi. of the same book the same writer strikes a more cheerful note. "Everything appears to indicate," he says, "that the English people are destined to take the lead in the great religious movement which is preparing, and which will form a sacred epoch in the annals of mankind."

I need hardly add that, despite the hard things he said about the Anglican Church (at a time when the controversialists of all Christian Churches were very rough-tongued), De Maistre was very Anglophile.

Some of the *émigrés* take a very hopeful view of the situation. They see a great Church persecuted but impregnable, besieged by Jews, infidels, and schismatics, but supported by the unwavering faith of the *muzhik;* but, in 1916, those same *émigrés* would have regarded it as absolutely unthinkable that the peasants would ever permit the "Little Father" to be dethroned and murdered, and would cheerfully divide up the estates, not only of the landowners, but also of the Church. Moreover, unless the *muzhik's* children get a religious education, they will infallibly lose their faith; and they are not getting a religious education.

Other *émigrés* take the gloomiest possible view of the religious future, not only in Russia, but in all Europe. In England and America the general feeling among those interested in Russia seems to be that Patriarch Tikhon is once more head of the Church; that he has not unduly yielded to the Soviet Government; that practically all the Orthodox clergy and laity support him; and that, as he is a strong Churchman and a good diplomatist, he will be able to steer the Church safely through the present storm.

With this optimistic view I cannot agree. The popularity of the Patriarch does not mean much, since the "Living Church" is in possession; has got all the loaves and fishes; has got control of the machinery; enjoys the favour of the powers-that-be, and will probably be supported, therefore, by the opportunist and time-serving section of the clergy—a large section, unfortunately, in every Church.

According to the *Izvestia* of August 12, 1923, the "Living Church" and another reformist group called the "Old Apostolic Church" have joined forces, and boldly assumed the style and title of the "Russian Orthodox Church." This Church has appointed a new Synod to serve as its highest administrative organ instead of the Higher Church Council, which had before ruled it; and the new Synod has addressed the Patriarch of Constantinople, asking for

recognition. Among the members of the Synod are three Metropolitans—Evdokim of Odessa, Tikhon of Simbirsk, and Peter of Siberia; seven Archbishops—Constantine of Homel, Vitalius of Tula, Artemius of Petrograd and Luga, Sergius of Tomsk, Peter of Voronezh, Alexius of Smolensk, and Georgius of Krasnoyarsk; one Bishop—Georgius of Dmitrovsk; six archpriests—Paul Krasotin, Alexander Boyarsky, Dmitry Adamov, Vladimir Shapovalov, Dmitry Soloviev, and Sergius Kanorsky; one protodeacon—Sergius Dobov; and two laymen—Vladimir Nikolaievich Lvov, who styles himself "Head of the Holy Synod," and a clerk called Novikov.

The signatures of all the above are appended to a manifesto in the *Izvestia* of the above date, and they may be all regarded as tools of the Reds. The new Church has created many new Archbishops. Neither the name of Bishop Vvedensky nor that of Bishop Antonin appears in the new Synod. I have already mentioned a report that Bishop Antonin had been deposed by the reformers, but he still writes in the *Izvestia* under the title of Bishop; and his writings do not indicate any change in his opinions, for in them he venomously demands the punishment of the Patriarch. He and the Synod are at open war; and no wonder, for on June 29 he defied the Synod and started a new Church called the "Church of the Regeneration," wherein, he says, there is "no ecclesiastical autocrat like Tikhon, and no ecclesiastical oligarchy like that which dominates the 'Living Church.'"

Among the prelates of the old Church who have declared their adherence to the new Church are Tikhon, the Metropolitan of Simbirsk; Archbishop Benjamin of Rezan; Archbishop Vitalius of Tula; Archbishop Artemius of Petrograd and Luga; Bishop Macarius of Penza, and a large number of others.

The new Synod has appointed a special commission to look over the lists of Bishops who had been deposed by the old Church, in order to reinstate them; and this Synod declares that the relations of the Greek Patriarch and the Greek Synod with it are favourable. The President of the new Synod, the Metropolitan Evdokim, has (the new Church

says) been greeted officially by the representatives of the Eastern Patriarchs—that is, by the Archimandrite Jacob of Constantinople, and by the Archimandrite Paul of Alexandria; and at the Constantinopolitan Patriarchate a special commission has been formed to deal with the business of the new Russian Church. Moreover, this new Church will be permitted by the Soviet Government to issue a bi-monthly newspaper called *The Messenger of the Holy Synod.*

All this makes me fear that the reformed Church in Russia is by no means as weak as *The Times* represents it to be; it certainly includes a startling number of great prelates who belonged to the old Orthodox Church. And, despite its pretence that it cares for no Church, the Soviet Government will undoubtedly support the new Church because the leaders of that organization are all in the same boat as the Bolsheviks themselves, for those leaders have blessed Bolshevism; and the overthrow of the Soviet would mean the ruin, perhaps the death, of them all.

The Patriarch, on the other hand, numbers among his followers all the Grand Dukes, Generals, statesmen, landowners, financiers, merchants, diplomatists, writers, and lawyers of the emigration; and is regarded with sympathy and hope by every anti-Bolshevik organization, Government, and individual in the outside world. It will henceforth, apparently, be the object of the Soviet Government to make the Patriarch break with the *émigrés;* but though Tikhon has denounced the anti-Bolshevik clergy abroad, he has, so far, failed to alienate them, for they either insist that these denunciations are Bolshevik forgeries, or else they excuse the Patriarch by saying that he acted under duress. The only way by which Tikhon could satisfy the Bolsheviks and antagonize the anti-Bolsheviks would be by practically becoming a Bolshevik himself, as Vvedensky has done; but as this is impossible, we may conclude that the Soviet Government will in future hamper the Patriarch in every way. And it can hamper him in many ways. It can prevent the Bishops he appoints from carrying out their episcopal duties or even from residing in their sees; and so far, by the way, Tikhon seems to have created no new Bishops. It can prevent him from communicating with his

clergy. It can ultimately place him and his followers in the position occupied by the Old Believers in Tzarist times.

In that case the new Church will be the National Church of Russia; but will its strength ever be as great as that of the Orthodox Church was in 1916? I doubt it, for the Protestants, the Catholics, and the agnostics will all increase their membership at the expense of the Orthodox believers. The agnostics will probably increase most of all, for the simple reason that, in Red Russia, an agnostic stands a better chance than a Christian of getting employment under the Government, which, being a Socialist Government, employs a vast army of officials. My own impressions, gained during visits to the Russian Churches in Petrograd and Moscow and to the numerous shrines and holy ikons which are still displayed in those cities, lead me to the conviction that in the towns the Orthodox Church has already lost very heavily.

Then, again, we must subtract from the strength of the new Church the followers of Tikhon and the Old Believers, as well as the adherents of several great separatist movements of which hardly anything has been written in the Western press. The greatest of these movements calls itself the Pan-Ukrainian Church, which claims to have gained millions of adherents in Little Russia. Lipkivsky is the head of it, but, though he has won over 2,000 parishes; has ordained many priests; has established an ecclesiastical academy, and exercises the functions of a Metropolitan, he has never been consecrated Bishop himself, so that from the Orthodox, and also from the Roman point of view, this Church lacks the Apostolical succession. The Pan-Ukrainian Church is heavily financed from America. It is anti-Catholic, anti-Polish, and anti-Russian. It is separatist, in the sense that it wishes to be purely a Ukrainian Church, independent of Moscow; and for this reason the Soviet Government, which had at first encouraged it in the hope that it would weaken Orthodoxy, began in March last to persecute it and to imprison its leaders.

The Pan-Ukrainian Church is almost Presbyterian, for, according to its statutes, the Bishops will be very much dependent on the lay councillors. Many of its formulæ recall

the most radical formulæ of liberal neo-Calvinism and of the Nonconformist Churches in England; and the canons which were promulgated in 1921 by its first council declared war on Moscow to quite the same extent as on Rome, and also denounced Lutheranism as well as the hierarchical system which subordinates the Church "to prelates who are successors of Caiaphas." The Bishops of this Church were "elected by the Ukrainian nation"; in other words, ecclesiastical democraticism is pushed so far that it is the laity themselves, assembled in council, who consecrate their Bishops. There are now twenty-five such "Bishops."

This new Church is Protestant in the most radically negative sense of the word. In fact, its sole dogma seems to be nationalism; and, in order to be saved, its followers need only apparently (1) protest vigorously against all other Christian Churches, and (2) support the liturgical use of the Ukrainian language (a dialect which bears about the same relation to Russian as the language spoken in Belfast bears to the King's English). In fact, it reduces all religion to emotions which can be expressed in popular language; and its great object, apparently, is to revive among the people of Little Russia and among the Cossacks of the Ukraine the old songs and legends which glorify Kiev as the true mother of Churches, the one and only citadel of Christian vitality among the Slavs of the Dneiper, who used to curse all their neighbours as enemies to the holy traditions of the Ukraine.

To many of my readers, who are unaware that Kiev, like Mecca, regards itself as a place of peculiar sanctity, all this Ukrainian movement may seem a *reductio ad absurdum* of the nationalistic principle in religion (for "if Kiev is holy," they will say, "why not Ballyjamesduff and Medicine Hat?"); nevertheless, this movement may be as important in the Russian religious system as the revolt of Luther was in the religious system of Rome. It threatens to detach from the spiritual territory ruled by Tikhon and by the new Church at Moscow a district as large as England and France put together. Readers interested in this subject will find much information and many copies of original documents in the *Orientalia Christiana, Num.* 3 *and* 4, *Pontificio Instituto Orientale*, Rome.

The Orthodox Church of Russia is, therefore, divided into several fragments, and the Bolsheviks will probably use one fragment against another, and do their best to drag Catholics and Protestants into the fray in order to weaken and discredit all Christian bodies. The union of Orthodoxy with Rome or Canterbury is, therefore, out of the question, for if the Patriarch took any steps towards either of these Churches, the Living Church and its protectors, the Bolsheviks, would eagerly seize the opportunity to deprive him of all spiritual influence among his own people. There is, it is true, an *émigré* Church under the Metropolitan Anthony, who resides at Karlowitz in Yugo-Slavia. If Anthony prefers to remain outside Russia, he will probably be excommunicated both by the Patriarch and by the new Church; and this excommunication will probably be followed by a split in the Church of the emigration, and by the gradual disappearance of the *émigrés* as a religious body through their loss of all religion or their gradual absorption by local Churches. Indeed, this latter process is going on at present with great rapidity. Many young Russians in Latvia, Esthonia, Finland, and other Protestant countries are embracing Protestantism, thanks largely to the activity of the Y.M.C.A. Theosophy, occultism, and, recently, the anthroposophia of Steiner, have attracted great numbers of them; but, worst humiliation of all, Mohammedanism has made conquests among the Russian *émigrés*. At Constantinople, during the months of August, September, and October, 1922, the Mussulmans celebrated with *éclat*, in several public fêtes, the conversion of rich and influential Russians to Islam. No people are so apt as the Russians to assume the colour of their background; hence, probably, their pre-eminence as actors and as linguists; hence, also, the rapidity with which the *émigrés* are losing their religion. That even 5 per cent. of the children of those *émigrés* will, if they remain abroad for the next ten years, be practising members of the Orthodox Church at the end of that time is extremely doubtful; that they will be Russians at all is doubtful.

And even that the Russians at home will retain the faith is not at all certain. Heretofore the Russians were regarded as conservatives in religious matters, but their conservatism

was largely due to a Government censorship and to the infliction of severe punishment on persons who left the Orthodox fold; but now that these restraints have been abolished, and that the Soviet Government offers every inducement to those who repudiate Orthodoxy, that form of Christianity may practically disappear in Russia. Russian religion has so far been of a cloistered and sheltered variety; and now that it is exposed to the rudest blasts whereby any confession of faith was ever assailed, we cannot expect its history to run on exactly the same lines as before, though the *émigrés* (many of whom have themselves adopted new forms of belief) do expect this miracle to happen.

To return, however, to the Russian Church abroad. The Patriarch at Moscow can exercise no effective control over his emigrant ecclesiastics because (1) those ecclesiastics do not want, very often, to obey him; (2) the Bolshevik censorship makes communication difficult; and (3) most of the countries in which the Russians are settled have now independent Orthodox Churches of their own. In the spring of 1922 the Russian emigrants, clerical and lay, were under the direction of a central committee presided over by Mgr. Eulogius, but, by an ecclesiastical *coup d'état*, Anthony gained control of this organization, and refused to relinquish it even after he had received written orders from the Patriarch to do so. In order to override the decision of the Patriarch, he convoked at Karlowitz in November, 1922, a Church Congress in which the majority of the members were laymen, friends of Anthony. This is, of course, Bolshevism pure and simple; but Anthony carried off his disobedience by a heated denunciation of Catholic propaganda, and a declaration that "the chalice of the Catholic Mass is the cup of the devil."

A union of the Orthodox Church with the *Raskolniki*, or Old Believers, would greatly strengthen the former; and the way was paved for such a union when, in 1918, the Orthodox Church removed the anathema which it had launched against the Old Believers in the seventeenth century. Some of those who are best qualified to speak on this subject place great hopes in the *Raskolniki*, who have suffered persecution for nearly three centuries sooner than admit that the State can dictate to the Church, and whose profound faith, moral

strictness, and stern discipline have always won them the sympathy of Western observers. In 1912 they reckoned their own number at nearly thirty millions; and as they show as little inclination to compromise with the Bolsheviks as they did to compromise with the Tzars, they may yet play a great rôle in the future religious history of Russia.

Among that section of the Old Believers who are known as the "Priestless Ones," religious extravagances continue to be rife. Some of these sects practise self-sterilization; others resemble the Dancing Dervishes, save that their dancing generally ends in Bacchanalian rites; others resemble Thibetan Buddhists, believing as they do that Christ and the Virgin Mary are sometimes reincarnated in the shape of village boys and girls; others can only be described as Satanists. But, in the matter of religious extravagances, neither Western Europe nor America has any right to throw stones at Russia.

CHAPTER II

THE PROTESTANT CHURCHES

THE position of the Protestant Churches in Russia is peculiar. De Maistre said that " all the enemies of Rome are friends "; and it is certain that, on the very morrow of the Reformation, Protestants, whether Lutherans or Calvinists or Anglicans, began to make overtures to the Orthodox Church, and were willing, apparently, to overlook its " Mariolatry," its " worship of images," its belief in the Mass and the Sacraments, if only it would strengthen by alliance their attack on Rome. For a long time the Orthodox Churches did not encourage these advances; but, nevertheless, there was a steady drift towards Protestantism, or, at least, there was less fear of Protestantism than there was of Catholicism. This was shown by many indications, such as the continual and successful effort to keep Catholic books out of the Imperial Library at Petrograd, while no effort was made to keep out of that library, or even out of the ecclesiastical seminaries, Protestant works on theology, even works which denied the divinity of Christ. This movement (about which the reader will find an interesting quotation from a Russian Bishop in de Maistre's " Quatre Chapitres sur l'Histoire de Russie ") dates as far back as the time of Peter the Great, and was due at first to German influences; but, immediately before the Great War, English influences had begun to make themselves felt. In 1912 and 1913 the Orthodox Church even permitted Anglican clergymen to deliver theological lectures at the house of the Holy Synod; and, since the war, all the Orthodox Churches have abandoned their attitude of aloofness. Several autonomous Orthodox Churches have acknowledged the validity of Anglican Orders; and though the Russian Church has not done so yet, the Metropolitan Anthony of Kiev, to whom I have already

referred, is extremely Anglophile, extremely anxious for a reunion of the Russian and Anglican Churches, and extremely inimical to Rome. Père Michel d'Herbigny, President of the Pontifical Oriental Institute at Rome, and the leading Catholic authority on the Orthodox Churches, stated in a lecture he delivered at Cambridge in August, 1923, that "the leaven of Protestantism has permeated most of the Oriental sects, and in some cases it would scarcely be possible for the Patriarchs to carry on at all if it were not for assistance from England. The Greek schism was political in its origin, and is certainly not less so to-day. Each of the sects is in a sense national, and religion in the East is one and the same thing as patriotism."

The denial of Rome's infallibility is the only point (except the existence of God) with regard to which all the other Christian Churches are agreed; but though on this point their unanimity is passionate, Père d'Herbigny, like de Maistre, and Cardinal Mercier, is not at all alarmed by the prospect of a federation among them. He thinks, on the contrary, that the organizers of this federation are inspired by good intentions, and that their coming together will kill certain prejudices and give birth to a desire for universal unity.

Nevertheless, it is doubtful if Anglicans, as a whole, desire a real, organic union with Orthodoxy; many Anglicans would probably prefer union with the English Nonconformists; and, in any case, there are great difficulties in the way of such a union: (1) The Patriarch is not in favour of it, for he sharply reprimanded Anthony in the spring of 1922 for assisting the Anglican *rapprochement* to the Greco-Slavs of the Orient. Moreover, though extremely Anglophile, Tikhon does not believe that Anglican orders are valid. So, at least, I conclude from his having insisted on the re-ordination of an Episcopalian Protestant clergyman, the Rev. Ingram R. W. Irvine, who joined the Russian Church while Tikhon, then Bishop, was the head of that Church in America. This event occurred in October, 1905, and led to an exchange of letters between Tikhon and the very Rev. Daniel S. Tuttle, Bishop of Missouri and Bishop-President of the Protestant Episcopalian Church. (2) Even if

Tikhon were in favour of it, he would probably lose all authority in Russia by consummating that union. (3) The Russians would probably, in case of union, be disappointed sooner or later by the discovery that they had united with only a small section of the High Church, and not with a great united National Church; while, on the other hand, some of the Anglicans might also be disappointed by certain discoveries. They think that there is unity of doctrine among the twenty-two independent and autocephalous Churches of the Orthodox rite; but Vladimir Soloviev, who knew all about these Churches, says (in his "La Russie et l'église universelle," chap. viii) that they have no unity, either of faith or ritual.

The Russians might also discover that their alliance with Anglicanism would open their Orthodox citadel to ultra Protestants, who are opposed to almost every dogma Orthodoxy holds dear. These militant Protestants are already at work in Russia, and are meeting with great success. It might seem at first sight that the simplicity of Protestant worship would repel Russians accustomed to an elaborate religious ritual, but, on the contrary, this simplicity is often an attraction.

But, unfortunately, Protestantism, among the ignorant in Russia, is liable to be dissolved by Bolshevism, with which it forms an explosive compound which may yet prove more dangerous than economic-atheist Bolshevism, a sterile, unsatisfying creed which would only dry up Russia and make it fall an easy prey to Mohammedans, or any other invaders with a religion, who attacked her. Hence my statement, on p. 91, that the greatest danger in Bolshevism "may be still to come." That statement, I must confess, was made to me originally in Moscow by an able Englishman who is an Anglican and an expert in Russian affairs, and who has, for some years past, been studying the Russian situation for the British Government, studying it, not in England, but in Russia itself. I might also refer back to p. 70, and add to the information given there about a Methodist envoy in Russia the further information that in Moscow the Bolshevik books of another Methodist Bishop, Bishop Brown, have been praised to the skies by Trotzky

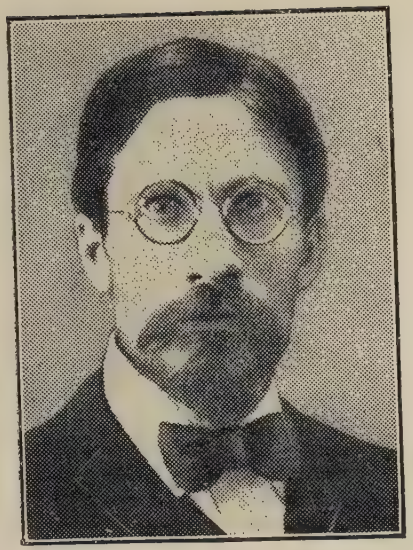
in public speeches, have been published serially in the Red newspapers, and are now to be had, translated, in book form.

I hasten to repeat, what I have already said, that the American Methodist Mission Board has washed its hands of these Bolshevik ministers; and it would be very unfair to blame any of the Protestant oganizations abroad for the indiscretions of their co-religionists in Russia, as none of them seems to have any control at all over those co-religionists. Curiously enough, no Christians in Russia surrender to Bolshevism more quickly and more completely than the Quakers, whose principles of pacifism and non-resistance are in direct opposition to those of the Reds.

The attitude of the *émigrés* towards the " Red Christian " movement in the Ukraine is one of expectancy and hope. One Russian Socialist, who is also an erudite lay-theologian, expressed to me his belief that the religious ferment in question will end in some sort of Cromwellian movement. " We don't care what sort of a brew is concocted," he said genially, " so long as it kills Lenin." It was a typically Russian remark.

In the seventies of the last century, Lord Radstock, an English Protestant, effected many conversions in Petrograd among the aristocracy, one of his converts being a Colonel Pashkovich of the Guards, after whom the Pashkovites, a sect still in existence, are named. At the present day both the Baptists and the Methodists are very active in Russia, and especially in Petrograd; but the principal Protestant leader is a Pastor Fettler, an Evangelical, who lives in Berlin, where he is indefatigable at holding Church services for Russian *émigrés*, at getting up lectures and entertainments for them, and at providing for their children education of a frankly propagandist character. He even writes copiously on religious subjects in their newspaper, the *Ruhl*, though that paper is Orthodox, his articles being inserted, however, as advertising matter.

Pastor Fettler, who is a great orator, a man of magnetic appeal, and a tireless worker, was born in Lettland, and was banished from Russia under the old *régime* on account of the objection of the Orthodox Church to his proselytizing



PASTOR W. FETLER.

ARCHBISHOP ANDREW SHEPTITSKY.

activities. He is head of the Russian Missionary Society, which has offices in London; has a large relief organization for Russians in Warsaw; and gets much financial support for relief work from America. Under his auspices the Church Missionary Society of London sent 40,000 Bibles some time ago to Russia, but they were stopped at the frontier. Pastor Prokhanov, his representative in Petrograd, created such a religious revival in that city some years ago that the Bolsheviks arrested him; but he was released about the middle of 1923, and on August 12 he and three other Russian clergymen of the Evangelical Church (all four of them forming the Council of the Evangelical Church in Russia) published in the *Izvestia* a remarkable epistle addressed "to all brethren of the Evangelical faith living in the S.S.S.R."* The gist of this epistle is as follows:

According to St. Paul (Rom. xiii. 1-5), one must obey the existing authorities, not from fear, but from motives of conscience. In the case of the Soviet Government, which, owing to its method of rule, is exceptional among the Governments of the world, and, in fact, quite unique, and which has its own troubles, we must be especially careful in carrying out our duties towards that Government and in obeying its instructions. We must give the best part of our force and knowledge to strengthen and support the Soviet power, which, by worldly ways, aims at the same ideals which have been given by Christ to His Church.

It has come to the knowledge of this council (of the Protestant Evangelical Church) that some of their brethren in Russia are opposed to conscription and to the payment of taxes. This Supreme Council unhesitatingly condemns such actions, and declares that such persons will not be counted among their members. It believes that the Soviet Government, which has definitely declared itself against war, calls upon all peoples to disarm and to live together in peace. The Soviet Government will in the future be able to rule, being supported by the mass of the proletariat, and will accomplish all at which civilization and humanity are aiming. The object of the Soviet Government is to render wars no longer possible. The action of the Soviet Government in the direction of saving the labouring classes from exploitation and of assisting the poor corresponds to the spirit of Evangelical Christianity, because Christ, our Teacher,

* The Union of Socialist Soviet Republics.

was Himself poor and cared for the suffering and for those who were most heavily burdened, and has told us to do the same. It is, of course, evident that if we maintain faithful and sincere relations with the Government of the workers and peasants, we must be hostile to all powers which are enemies of the Soviet Republic. All the Russian Union of Evangelical Christians sees in the Soviet Government the most perfect expression of the people's will, sees a system which is dear to the heart of the Russian people. The great majority of the capitalists and monarchists of the emigration are as yet unable to recognize the new state of things, and still continue to fight the Soviet Government for the sake of predominance and for the sake of the capital which they will never get back. The Evangelical Christians fought also at one time for religious freedom; but this Council of Evangelical Christians now appeals to all the brethren to work obediently and sincerely in Soviet institutions, not to refuse to serve in the Red Army, to observe discipline, to obey the orders of the Soviet Government, and to strengthen the Soviet authorities amid all the dangers that may come to them from alien forces.

The Soviet Government, by its decree of Church disestablishment, guarantees the spiritual independence of the Evangelical community, and has given that community permission to convoke their All-Russian Congress and to publish a religious magazine, *The Morning Star*.

Thus runs Prokhanov's epistle to the Muscovites. Meanwhile it is rumoured that the Evangelical Church in Russia is negotiating some sort of *rapprochement* with the Living Church, and that the Methodist Church in Russia is doing the same. Bishop Blake, of the American Methodist Church, attended the Red Church Congress, which I have described in Part I, Chapter V, and cordially approved of everything that assembly did, though I must repeat that his action was repudiated by the Methodist Episcopal Missions Board in America. Nobody can foretell what will come of these permutations and combinations, but they will hardly leave the religious life of Russia exactly where it was when the Tzar fell.

The Protestant movements in Russia are most liberally financed from America, the peasant converts being not only fed (where necessary), but also supplied with agricultural instruments. How long this connection with the New

World will be maintained and what the result of it will be I cannot say, but one result may be the formation of new ties based on confessional identity, between Russia and the United States.

Protestantism in Russia tends towards a helpless pacificism; hence its difficulties with the Soviet Government are largely owing to the refusal of its members to serve in the army. This explains Pastor Prokhanov's epistle given above, and also the recent visit to Russia of Pastor Rushbrook, the English Baptist minister. But perhaps the reluctance of the Protestants to fight anybody will be replaced by a Cromwellian spirit which will bode ill for Bolshevism.

One dark night in the winter of 1922 I stumbled by chance on a meeting of Russian Salvationists in a remote quarter of Moscow, and was greatly impressed by their enthusiasm, by the martial note in the hymns which they sang, and by their great red banner whereon was embroidered, in huge, golden letters, the legend, " Fire and Blood." The agents of the G.P.U. had also been impressed, apparently, for a few days afterwards all the Salvationist halls in Moscow and Petrograd were suddenly closed.

Nearly a year later I visited, at Warsaw, the " Divisional Headquarters " of a great Protestant organization for the spiritual conquest of Russia. (The " Field Headquarters " are at Berlin, and the General Headquarters in London; these military designations are actually used by the organization in question.) Some of the missionaries were from America, some from Germany, some from the Baltic States, some from Wales, some from my native Ulster. Two were setting out for the Russian front in order to learn Russian and get experience of evangelical work among real Russians on the border. The piety, gentleness, and sincerity of them all struck me strongly; but, despite that gentleness, their success will mean the overthrow of Ierodiakon, Ieromonakh, Arch-priest, Archimandrite, Metropolitan, and Patriarch, even as the success of the revolutionaries in 1917 meant the overthrow of Kammerherr, Privy Councillor, Yunker, Lady-in-Waiting, Groom-of-the-Bedchamber, Grand Duke, and Tzar.

Amid the thunders of the colossal disintegration which is actually going on in Orthodox Russia, I hear the plaintive, cultured voice of the *émigré* saying: "*Please* do not write about it. It will cause pain." The same voice made the same appeal to me when I wrote about the murder of Nicholas II.*

There are Russians who forget, as the Tzars forgot, that by preventing history being written they cannot prevent history being made; that tyranny, whether political or religious, must sooner or later pay to the uttermost farthing for past misdeeds; that all the tears in the world will not wipe out a single letter in the sentence traced by the iron hand of fate; that no supplications will stop the march of great cosmic forces, the operation of inexorable laws.

* See *A Prisoner of the Reds* (John Murray).

CHAPTER III

THE CATHOLIC CHURCH

Patriarch Tikhon has made his peace with the Soviet. The new Church has effusively blessed Bolshevism, and has in return been granted the privilege of publishing an ecclesiastical periodical. Two of the Protestant Churches have taken their stand under the Red flag, and one of them has received permission to publish a newspaper called *The Morning Star*.

The Roman Catholic Church remains, however, outside the Bolshevik pale, not because it objects to Republicanism, but because it objects to certain laws which conflict with Christianity, especially the law forbidding religious teaching to children under eighteen years of age. It has not, therefore, been allowed to have any press organ. Yet, curiously enough, it is hated by the Orthodox as much as it is hated by the Bolsheviks. I have already set forth the reasons why the Orthodox hate it, though they show no hatred for the Protestant Churches. The principal reason is that they are the Eastern Church, and Rome is the Western Church, and the great schism was between the East and Rome, not between the East and the various Churches which separated themselves from Rome long after that schism took place. Secondly, most of the Catholics in Russia are Poles, and the Poles are very unpopular with all Russians. Moreover, for political reasons, the Tzars encouraged a hatred for Rome among their subjects, and this hatred hardened gradually into a habit of mind which persists even now, though the Tzarist Government has disappeared. Finally, the Vatican gave great offence last year to most of the Russian *émigrés* by asking the Soviet Government to let it send a relief mission to Russia. Cardinal Mercier defended the action of the Vatican in sending this mission by saying that

the need was great, that without this permission no relief could have been sent to the starving, and that in 1914 he himself, though he hated the Germans and regarded them as intruders, had gone personally on one occasion to their commander at Liége in order to plead for his people, who were afraid of being forcibly enrolled in the German Army.

Writing in *The Christian East* some months ago, Professor Glubokovsky, an eminent Russian theologian, describes Rome as "a wolf ravening and eager to swallow its agonized Orthodox prey"; and this is about the mildest thing that has been said about Rome by any member of the Orthodox Church for a long time past.

The Papal Relief Mission referred to above was specially warned by the Holy See not to engage in religious propaganda, and it is certainly keeping clear of such propaganda. Ninety per cent. of its enormous relief work is among the Orthodox, not among Catholics; and, so far, this relief has not led a single Russian to Rome. Most of the people relieved do not know exactly who is their benefactor, and do not seem to be particularly grateful. During a seven months' stay in Russia, I only heard one member of the Orthodox Church speak well of the Papal Mission, and she was an employée of the mission, who, when her salary stops owing to the winding-up of the mission, will probably become on that account a bitter and lifelong enemy of Catholicism.

The reader must not infer from this that the Pontifical Mission is inefficient or tactless; on the contrary, it is very efficient, very tactful, and is feeding and clothing vast numbers of children. All relief missions in Russia are misunderstood in the same way. The American Relief Administration has been, for the last two years, doing charitable work on a scale never before attempted in the world, but it is hated (1) by the *émigrés*, who say that, without it, the Soviet Government would have collapsed owing to inability to deal with the famine; (2) by the Bolsheviks, who say that it is a nest of spies; and (3) by the non-party Russians, who say that it is a nest of speculators and diamond merchants. The last accusations are untrue; but the fact remains that I have never once heard any Russian, inside or outside Russia, say a good word of the A.R.A.

The Papal Mission is even more hated than the A.R.A., because it is suspected, quite unjustly, of proselytism. Some Russians think the Pope should have given nothing; others think that he has not given enough. They seem to imagine that the Vatican's financial resources are illimitable, that the Pope can help himself as much as he likes from the treasuries of Catholic Governments; they quite fail to understand that the money spent by Dr. Walsh comes mostly from poor people.

Unable, owing to their education, to imagine a religion which is not a nationalized religion, many intelligent Russians are convinced that the policy of the Italian Government is dictated by the Vatican, which they blame (among other things) for the Russo-Italian Treaty of Commerce. One Russian writer has written a treatise to prove that Rome's real object is *temporal* domination over all the earth, and most Orthodox Russians are persuaded that submission to the Vatican would lead to the Holy See invariably filling by direct, dictatorial nomination every ecclesiastical post in Russia, no matter how humble. According to authoritative Catholics, what would really happen in such a case would be that Russia would form an autonomous Patriarchate with as much power in Russian ecclesiastical affairs as the Catholic Church in America has in American ecclesiastical affairs; and that all the prelates, priests, monasteries, and nunneries would remain exactly as they are, save that there would always be an appeal through the Patriarch to the Pope. Those Catholics point out that Rome has already conceded a ritual in the vernacular and a married clergy, and that she would give the Russian Bishops far greater authority than they ever possessed under the Tzars. In his latest book on Russia, "La tyrannie soviétique et le malheur russe," Father d'Herbigny shows the extent of this authority by means of quotations from Papal decrees. Rome would also give the Russian Church a genuine freedom to choose its Bishops, a freedom which, so far, it has never enjoyed.

I do not present the above misconceptions of the Russians in order that the reader may laugh at them. My only object in doing so is to show by what a cloud of prejudices and

misunderstandings even good, sincere people are separated from one another owing to differences of education, nationality, and religion; probably there are, in the present instance, as many misconceptions on one side as on the other.

To return to the Papal Mission, there are some Catholic laymen who would prefer that most of the money entrusted to it were employed in relieving the necessities of indigent Catholics in Russia. It is nearly all spent on the Orthodox, with the result that the Orthodox detest Rome, though they never criticize the Protestant organizations for confining their charity to members of their own communion and to proselytism of the most direct and successful kind, proselytism, too, which tends to bring down the whole Orthodox Church in utter ruin.

The object of the Vatican, apparently, is to remove the Russian prejudices against it, and eventually to gain over the whole Orthodox Church *en bloc*, through the Patriarch and the hierarchy; but I do not believe that this object will ever be attained. There is as little probability of the Patriarch and his Bishops acknowledging the supremacy of the Pope as there is of the Archbishop of Canterbury and all the Anglican prelates doing so. Meantime, however, the Vatican is acting with the most exquisite tact, and exhibiting the greatest patience; and Cardinal Mercier, as well as all the Belgian, French, and Italian ecclesiastics who are interested in Orthodoxy, are following this lead. They never use the word "conversion." Benedict XV, for example, spoke in his "prayer for the union of the Eastern Christians with the Roman Church" of "the eminent place" which the Orthodox peoples occupied in the Church of Christ, and begged God "to inspire them with the desire to resume that place in order to form with us one fold under the direction of the same Shepherd." He also prayed God that the Orthodox may be "penetrated with the instructions of their holy doctors, who are also our fathers in the faith," and even begged Him to "preserve us (Catholics) from all faults which might possibly alienate them from us." Moreover, in speaking of the Greco-Russian Christians, he went so far as to call them "the Orthodox," being the first Pope who has ever done so.

Pius XI has been equally tactful and dignified. In one of his prayers he speaks of the Orthodox Russians as divided from the Catholic Church, but nevertheless united to it "per divinum Eucharistiæ sacramentum et sacrificium, quod est unitatis signum, vinculum caritatis et concordiæ symbolum."

Cardinal Mercier's letters on the religious question in Russia are all marked by the same urbanity and the same scrupulous avoidance of any word that might give the least offence. Never, perhaps, in her references to other Christian Churches has Rome shown such extreme solicitude to eschew everything that might hurt the most delicate susceptibilities.

At Constantinople and at Namur, in Belgium, there are Catholic hostels for Russian children, and the University of Louvain has, thanks to Cardinal Mercier, given free places to a number of Russian students, but in all these cases no religious distinction is made and there is no attempt at proselytism. There are, of course, individual conversions; several hundred Orthodox Russians in Italy, France, Belgium, England, and other European countries have gone over to Rome during the last five years; but in no case that has come under my observation have they gained any material advantage by doing so.

The very hostility which the Orthodox exhibit towards Rome is, however, a proof that, for several reasons, Rome exercises a great attraction over them. First and foremost it is stable, the stablest institution in all the world; and this quality of stability appeals powerfully to distressed and harried people who cannot find anywhere a firm piece of ground whereon to rest, whose estates, money, bank accounts, investments, wives, and children have all vanished like smoke, and whose own Church is disappearing, under their eyes, in the Red morass of Bolshevism. So far as doctrine is concerned, Rome differs very little from Moscow. It is ancient, conservative, and well organized. It constitutes a great International, compared with which Lenin's International is very new, weak, and ephemeral. Its catholicity and its influence were well shown at the time of the Cieplak trial, when the whole world was more roused by the execution of one Catholic priest than it had been roused by the

executions, extending over five years, of twelve hundred Orthodox Bishops and clergymen.

Pius XI, then Cardinal Ratti, Nuncio Apostolic, was in Warsaw on August 15, 1920, when the Red Army came to within ten miles of that city, whose fall seemed as inevitable as the fall of Rome seemed inevitable when Pope Leo met Attila at the gates of Milan; and many Catholics believe that in each case the invader was turned back by supernatural intervention. But while Pope Leo threatened the king of the Huns with the divine vengeance, the future Pius XI was inspired by his first sight of the Reds with the sublime audacity of converting them. Owing to his unremitting study, then and ever since, of confidential reports from Russia on the religious aspect of the Russian question, he probably knows more about that aspect than any Foreign Minister in Europe. When still a Cardinal, he had occasion to consult on Slav matters generally Father Michel d'Herbigny, an erudite French Jesuit who has devoted a great many years to the study of the Russian Church, and is one of the leading authorities in Europe on the question of Eastern reunion. The details of the Papal Mission to Russia planned by Benedict XV, and realized by his successor, were entrusted to this French Jesuit, who is now President of the Pontifical Oriental Institute at Rome, an institute which aims at preparing priests for the Uniat Church in Russia.

There is also resident at present in Rome, Father Vladimir Abrikosov, an Orthodox layman who became converted to Catholicism of the Uniat rite a few years ago, and was afterwards ordained priest. He opened a church and school in Moscow, and was making considerable headway when the Soviet authorities suddenly closed both and expelled Abrikosov, at the end of September, 1922, "for having attempted to form among Christians a united front," at the same time telling him that his return will be punished by death. Abrikosov's work in Moscow was continued by the Exarch Fedorov, who was afterwards tried with Mgr. Cieplak and condemned to ten years' imprisonment. Father Alexandrov is now the only priest left in this mission, which the Bolsheviks honour by unrelenting persecution. When, in

June last, all the Petrograd churches were reopened, the one Uniat Church (Fedorov's) was not opened; and the one little Uniat chapel which exists in Moscow is to be closed shortly, on the ground that it is in a private house.

Abrikosov's wife became converted at the same time as he; and when the husband decided to study for the priesthood, the wife became a nun, and is now the head of a convent of Dominican nuns, all of them converts but one. It was not necessary, of course, for husband and wife to separate, for the Uniat clergy are married; but they both thought it better to part for ever.

Father A. Sipiagin (a convert and a former member of the Duma) is now in charge of a hostel for Russian children at Namur, and has published a number of Catholic brochures in Russian. A third is Professor Maxim Kuzmin-Karavaiev of Moscow University, who is at present in Berlin. There have been similar conversions among the Russian " intellectuals " in Rome, Paris, and other European capitals, but especially in Paris, where a group of French priests have thrown themselves whole-heartedly into the reunion movement. The Newman of that movement is the celebrated philosopher, Vladimir Soloviev, who, though dead, still exercises quite as much influence through his books—not, indeed, on the masses in Russia, but on a section of the Russian " intellectuals "—as Newman still exercises on a small section of the English " intellectuals."

Owing to their dislike for everything that recalls Orthodoxy, many of the Russian " intellectuals " who have been converted to Catholicism prefer the Latin rite; but as these converts speak a foreign language and have passed much of their life abroad, their case is exceptional. The policy of the Vatican is to encourage conversion to the Uniat, and not to the Latin rite; for converts to the Latin rite must, if they are priests, separate themselves from their wives, and must, if they are laymen resident in Russia, fall under the spiritual jurisdiction of Polish priests, who have generally a national dislike for Russians, a dislike which is, I regret to say, returned with interest. In fact, the violent hatred that exists between Russians and Poles threatens to make Rome's task in the extreme east of Europe as difficult as it was, partly

for a similar reason, in the islands of the extreme west; in other words, if the Vatican shows too much favour to the Polish Catholics, it will antagonize the Russians, and if it shows too much favour to the Russian Catholics, it will risk offending the Poles, or at all events the Polish laity, who are more ignorant and more nationalistic than their clergy. I might add that the accounts published by the Bolsheviks of Warsaw's persecution of the Orthodox Church in Poland, and even of the Uniats, have added enormously to Rome's difficulties in Russia.

Both Poles and Russians have a tendency to connect too much their religion and their nationality, and to make use of their religion for political purposes; and, indeed, none of the Slav Catholics, except, perhaps, the Croats and the Slovenes, have quite as strong a sense of the Roman supremacy as we find among Western Catholics. Their religious loyalty does not, in many cases, go beyond their Bishop; their weak point is particularism; hence the strength of the Old Catholic movement in Poland fifty years ago, the small schisms of individual Polish churches which take place from time to time in America, and the repudiation of Rome at the present moment by a large number of the clergy and laity in Czecho-Slovakia. Rome's difficulties arising from this source have been increased by the wave of extravagant nationalism which passed over Eastern Europe after the termination of the Great War. The Vatican has probably as little liking for the insane patriotism of some modern Republicans as it had for the insane megalomania of some medieval Emperors; and it also meets, I might add, with innumerable difficulties arising out of the cultural and temperamental differences between East and West. In Anglo-Saxon countries the tendency is towards less dogma, and it is innovators like the Puritans who are aggressive and inflexible. Among the Slavs, on the contrary, it is the extreme Conservatives, whose progress is backwards, so to speak, that are aggressive and inflexible. The Old Believers, who are very reactionary, correspond to our Cromwellian Puritans; and, some years before the Great War, there appeared among the Polish Catholics a sect of apocalyptic visionaries, the Mariavites, who were excommunicated by

the Holy See for paying divine honours to a woman whom they regarded as " the wife of Christ."

Catholicism has, so far, made conquests mostly among the " intellectuals "; I seldom heard of a Russian village going over to that religion. This is probably due to the fact that there are so few Catholics among the pure Russians of the lower classes, and that these few are mostly priests whom a long residence in Rome has unfitted for missionary work among the *muzhiks*. If a Pole, or a Russian Catholic of the middle class, goes among the peasants with the object of converting them, he seldom meets with success, because he and they belong to different intellectual worlds. Moreover, the Polish priests, as I have already indicated, show as little interest in the conversion of Russia as an Irish Republican curate might be expected to show in the conversion of England. " How *dare* he ?" was the expression I once heard an Irish Roman Catholic use on hearing of an Anglican parson " coming over "; and the Poles are somewhat inclined to take the same view of Russian conversions, and to regard Catholicism as a Polish monopoly, so far as Russia is concerned. They make no concession to Russian sentiment, with the result that their converts feel they are not only losing their religion, but also their nationality. If Anglican sympathizers with Rome found themselves confronted by the prospect of attending the services of Irish priests filled with a deadly hatred of England, and hearing Gaelic mostly used in the sermons and the vernacular prayers, not many of them would submit to the Roman obedience. Even Newman was prevented for some time from joining the Church of Rome owing to his antipathy for the political opinions of Daniel O'Connell and his followers.

The Vatican seems to have realized this difficulty and to have given orders accordingly, for in December, 1922, when I last visited St. Catherine's on the Nevsky Prospect, I found that, besides the services in Latin with sermons in Polish, there were also celebrated in that church every Sunday two Uniat services in Old Slavonic with sermons in Russian; and I speak elsewhere of the pains the Polish priests in Petrograd took, after the revolution, to win converts to the Roman Church. Nevertheless, the impres-

sion that the Catholic Church is a Polish institution still prevails even among many educated Russians. On one occasion an influential Russian convert protested that he would "on no account learn Polish," but it was explained to him that the Church into which he had been received was not the Church of Poland, but the Church Universal. In addition to his dislike of Poland, the average Russian has a temperamental objection to the strict discipline of Rome, and to the great authority wielded by the Catholic priests over their congregations.

Why should the Vatican not invite Americanized Polish clergymen to volunteer for Russia, and ask Catholic dioceses in America to "adopt" Catholic churches in Russia, as various war-devastated towns in France have been "adopted" by English and American cities? Thus we might have the Catholic diocese of New York "adopting" the church of St. Catherine in Petrograd, where Mgr. Budkiewicz officiated. This suggestion is said to have been actually made to Rome; and, if it is acted upon, a curious connection may be established between Russian Catholicism and American Catholicism, parallel to the connection which already exists between Russian Protestantism and American Protestantism, and of which I have already spoken. Owing to her religious energy and to her money, America is doing more than any other foreign country to promote denominational changes in Russia.

It will be evident from the foregoing, and from many other facts which I set forth in this book, that though Rome is anxious, most of all, for an understanding with the heads of the Russian Church, she does not refuse to accept individual converts. Her policy apparently is to remove very gradually the prejudices of the Russian hierarchy, and thus pave the way for a reconciliation between the two greatest Churches in the world, the two great bodies whose continuity with primitive Christianity is undisputed; and she does not, I think, expect that Bolshevism, in its present form, will last for any great length of time. In other words, she expects the Orthodox Church to become strong again, and its exiled prelates to return; and she is doing her utmost to ensure that they return with a better opinion of her.

But at the same time she has unfurled her own flag in Russia; that flag is the Uniat Church, and if a reconciliation with the Patriarch turns out to be absolutely impossible, Rome will obviously concentrate all her attention on that Church.

The leader of the Uniats and the greatest personality among them is undoubtedly Archbishop Sheptitsky (or Szeptycki, to give the Polish spelling), of whom I have already spoken.

This great Archbishop of Lemberg is great in all senses of the word, being a man of gigantic stature, patriarchal beard, boundless faith, robust optimism, and Apostolic fervour—in short, one of those large-hearted, medieval Bishops who were persecuted in their lifetime, but whose names were afterwards inscribed on the banners of armies and given to decorations that flashed on the breasts of kings. He is perhaps the most remarkable of living Slavs. The generosity of his temper and the independence of his character have led to his arrest, at different times, by (1) the Austrians, (2) the Russians, and (3) the Poles; and his bold advocacy of Galician independence makes him very unpopular at present with Warsaw, though he is extremely popular in his native Galicia, and even among all classes of Russians.*

In a remarkable address read in the spring of 1923 before the Oriental Institute at Rome, this prelate emphasized the important, even necessary, rôle to be played by the religious

* When he was arrested by the Russians at the beginning of the Great War, he was sent to the monastic prison of Susdal, where he was lodged in a holy but insanitary hermitage which had previously been inhabited by a *stàretz*. This hermit had soon died in the odour of sanctity (and typhoid); and as two other monks who subsequently took up their abode in the same death-trap also died in rapid succession, the local villagers looked forward with complacency to the speedy decease of the heretic Archbishop. When Mgr. Sheptitsky, who is a man of enormous physical strength and very cleanly habits, was found, after the lapse of a month, to be still alive and healthy, the *muzhiks* (who had, moreover, been very favourably impressed by what they had heard about the stranger) came to the conclusion that he was a saint, and declared themselves of his religion, whatever it was. Consequently the Archbishop was hurriedly sent to Yaroslav.

orders of the West in the conversion of the Orthodox. He also made it clear that it is no use approaching the Russians merely from outside. They must be won to the Catholic faith by men of their own speech and rite; they must not be needlessly humiliated by any attempt to Latinize them, as if, apart from schism, Greek Christianity were something less than Roman; and, finally, the beginnings must be made by religious, since an apostolic missionary monasticism does not at present exist in the East, all the "active" orders having died out among the Orthodox. In other words, the Archbishop advocates the formation, by the Western missionary orders, of Eastern branches employing Eastern rites. Father Michel d'Herbigny supports this proposal, and also pleads for a secular Catholic clergy which shall be Russian in race, or at least in sympathy and in rite.

Rome has an extraordinary facility in founding new orders to meet new needs. When violence, ignorance, and barbarism threatened to engulf the nascent civilization of Europe, she established Benedictine monasteries in every land as centres of peace, learning, and stability. When slavery prevailed, she founded orders to ransom slaves. When the wealth of the clergy and the monastic orders threatened to lose her the common people, she founded the Friars. When the new learning threatened to deprive her of the intellectuals, she founded the Jesuits. And now she may be quite capable of founding orders to supply what she regards as the needs of Russia. To my mind, the most necessary order of monks and nuns, not only in Russia, but in many other parts of Eastern Europe, is an order that will, without any attempt at proselytism, devote itself to the corporal works of mercy, and add to the three vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience, a vow not to advertise themselves personally, for there is something very repugnant in the blatant self-advertisement wherein some of the gentlemen and ladies who direct relief work habitually indulge. We read of their expensive motor-cars, of their special trains. In the illustrated papers we see photographs of them advising the Pope or the President of the United States how to save humanity. We are appalled by the administrative expenses of their organizations. To some of them,

philanthropy is a profession like stock-jobbing; and their principal fear, apparently, is that the recovery of the sick world will leave them without any occupation. Undoubtedly there are objections to the administration of relief by religious organizations; nevertheless, seldom, outside of such organizations, does one find that real Christian charity which is always accompanied by self-effacement and sympathy. At best it is the hard, mechanical charity of the conscientious workhouse-master as opposed to the soft and gracious charity of the medieval monasteries. To that hard, mechanical charity I would prefer the charity not only of the Roman Catholic relief organizations, but also of the relief organizations of other Christian denominations —Orthodox, Anglican, Baptist, Salvationist, etc. The Vatican has, it is true, sent to Russia a relief mission directed by members of various religious orders who are all bound by the monastic vow of poverty; but this is not the sort of ideal organization I have in mind.

As I have already pointed out on p. 135, the Exarch Fedorov has already resuscitated one of the "active" orders of the Eastern Church—namely, the Studites; and other "active" orders of the same Church will probably be revived or founded in course of time. Moreover, the great missionary orders of the Roman Church have formed, or are likely to form, branches with the Oriental rite. The Jesuits decided a long time ago to form such a branch of their order; and though they did not carry that decision into effect at the time, they are likely to do so now, especially as Père d'Herbigny, one of their own fathers, is at the head of the Oriental College of Rome, and as Vladimir Ledochowski, a Slav, is the General of the Jesuits. The Dominicans are keenly interested in Russia owing to their old connection with it (a connection which has never been entirely broken); and their General, who visited Russia in Tzarist times, was greatly touched by discovering there an association of Dominican Tertiaries which has been in existence for hundreds of years, and still observes the rule of the order. The Assumptionists have a powerful Oriental branch which is working in Bulgaria and Turkey, and this branch has the direction of the Greek College at Rome. The Redemptorists

have also a branch with the Oriental rite, and this branch has charge of a whole ecclesiastical province where that rite prevails. That province comprises a large part of Eastern Galicia.

This very remarkable development in the Church of Rome is not, of course, a new development, for it began as far back as the Pontificate of Leo XIII; but the present acceleration of it is probably due to the ominous cracks which have made their appearance in all the Eastern Churches, and especially to the transformation which has taken place in Russia. That country will soon be opened for the first time to the missionaries of all creeds. As I have already pointed out, the Vatican does not think, apparently, that Bolshevism, in its present form, will last long, or that the obstacles which it at present places in the way of religious propaganda by foreigners will remain indefinitely. It is quite prepared, however, for an intensification in the near future of the religious persecutions which the Bolsheviks inaugurated almost immediately after the October Revolution; for nothing is more probable than a violent attack by the Bolsheviks on Christianity, or at all events on Catholicism, in order to cover the complete surrender to foreign capitalism, which cannot now be far off. Rome looks a long way ahead, however; it looks beyond these troubles of the immediate future to a time, perhaps not more than a century distant, when, owing to the establishment of peace in their country, to the natural increase of their population, and to the development of their illimitable resources, the Slavs will dominate Europe as at one time the Greco-Latins dominated it, and at another time the Anglo-Saxons. With its usual adaptability, Rome is slowly pivoting round to meet this new development, and is already calculating the means at its disposal. Its greatest lack is Russian priests. It does not want to employ Poles in the new Oriental Church which it is building; it will certainly not appoint Poles as the first Bishops of that Church, and it has not got enough Russians. Possibly it may utilize for a time its other Slav Catholics, its Slovaks, Slovenes, Croats, or Czechs; but Bohemia is distrusted by Poland, which suspects that she wants Galacia so as to have a common frontier with Russia, whom she regards as her future protector: hence the Russian and

Galacian universities Bohemia has founded at Prague. Supported by the Polish hierarchy, Mgr. von Ropp has established at Lublin a college for missionary work especially in Russia; but *the* great college for such work will probably be established by the Vatican itself at Rome or Constantinople.

Many of the Catholic priests now in Russia are White Russian or Lithuanian, but most of the White Russian priests are completely Polonized; and any preference shown by the Vatican to Lithuanian priests would certainly give offence to Poland, and might lead to the Poles in Russia boycotting their churches. On the other hand, the Lithuanian priests have this advantage, that, owing to their hatred of Poland, they are regarded with friendly feelings by the Bolsheviks. All of them speak Russian; but in Lithuania itself there are no clergy available for missionary work in Russia; the establishment of a great seminary at Kovno, the taking over of nearly all the Orthodox churches built by the Tzars in Lithuania, and the formation of a Lithuanian Church absorb all their energies. Nevertheless, Lithuania may, owing to its intense Catholicity, be Rome's point of departure for what Rome's enemies would call her great "offensive" against Russia, though Catholics would probably call it a relief expedition. Religious orders of the Eastern rite could easily acquire land and build monasteries there, and familiarize themselves with the nature of the work in front of them. The paucity of workers in the vineyard may be made good by a wave of missionary fervour such as followed the Reformation and sent the Jesuits to India, China, Japan, and the two Americas. It has been proved thousands of times over that the language difficulty is soon overcome when there is intense enthusiasm, and in some of the great monasteries of Western Europe I have found extreme interest in the religious life of Russia. It is fully realized, of course, that the Russians are extraordinarily pious Christians; but as Vladimir Soloviev and other great Russian thinkers have pointed out, Christianity has only penetrated as far as their sensibility. Capable of generous enthusiasms, touching in their simplicity, their ignorance of dogma and their moral uncertainty expose them to the danger of being carried

away by the impression of the moment; and, taken in the mass, they certainly lack an enlightened faith and a firm discipline.

One point that must be particularly borne in mind by Western priests who go to Russia to learn and to teach is that the average Muscovite, even when he is highly educated, is infinitely more impressed by the living word than by books and documents. He must hear and see the man who brings him a message. Sometimes, it is true, he stones the messenger to death; but, later on, he raises a great church in the martyr's honour, and places his relics under the high altar.

The Poles, as I have already pointed out, have a great advantage as Catholic priests in Russia, owing to the fact that they know the language, have got large congregations, and a good organization; and it will be as difficult to dispense with them as it would be to dispense, say, with the Irish priests in Australia. Moreover, the Russian priests are all converts, and consequently want considerable training; though, on the other hand, none but a convert can fully understand the needs of other converts. Archbishop Ropp is of opinion that it would be better for some time to come to have the "bi-ritus," or double rite, introduced into Catholic practice in Russia, as otherwise misunderstandings are bound to arise between the two parallel hierarchies in Russia; but Rome will only have a Slav rite for that country, though, of course, foreign Catholics, including Poles, will continue to have Latin priests, just as various communities of Oriental Catholics in America have Oriental priests. The Vatican is not influenced by the argument that educated converts often prefer the Latin rite, for she is not thinking of a few hundred intellectuals: she is thinking of a hundred million peasants; and though deeply grateful to the Poles for the enormous services they rendered, in the past, not only to the Church, but to all Christianity, she is afraid that Latinization might, in the future, be used for political purposes by Poland. Polish Catholic kings did persecute Orthodox Russians for political reasons in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries throughout White Russia, Volhynia, Podolia, and the Ukraine, with the result that the Eastern Slavs have come to regard the acceptance of the Uniat rite as

involving inevitably the eventual loss even of that rite and of their nationality as well. And even now, in Galicia and in the Russian districts which she annexed after the Peace of Riga, Poland is closing Orthodox and Uniat churches and schools with a zeal which might be mistaken for religious zeal were it not for the fact that the Pope is protesting against it, and that the Poles are at the same time preparing to confiscate Church lands, and are actually exercising, in defiance of the Holy See, an uncanonical jurisdiction over ecclesiastics in what was formerly Austrian Poland. Looking at past history in the light of present events, one feels inclined to believe that (1) were it not for Poland, Russia would now be Catholic; (2) were it not for rulers and politicians using religion for their own purposes, there would be fewer reproaches to level against the Church Universal.

So far as the future of Catholicism in Russia is concerned, there are, in Catholicism itself, two different parties. One is pessimistic about the Uniat movement. It does not see the wood for the trees, and most of its trees are decayed ones. Its practical experience of Russia and the great disappointments it has had there make it more than dubious of all Russians. It is particularly opposed to Mgr. Sheptitsky's policy of ordaining Russians as Uniat priests after a very short period of study, and points triumphantly to some of those priests who have now embraced Buddhism, or gone back to Orthodoxy, or forgotten their ecclesiastical character entirely. This is unfair; but I must admit that, in my opinion, there will certainly be broken hearts among the Western enthusiasts who are now trying to shepherd the incalculable Muscovite into different folds.

The other party is, perhaps, too optimistic, and does not, owing to its complete ignorance of missionary work in Russia, make sufficient allowance for the waywardness of the Slav character. These optimists say that their opponents expect too little from God's grace. The pessimists retort that the others expect too much.

Catholicism may effect mass conversions if it gradually converts the Russian priests, who, if they join the Uniat Church (and Rome would probably do her best to dissuade

them from joining the Latin Church,)* might keep their wives and even their churches — if they brought their congregations with them. The change would be imperceptible, and the priest would, in many cases, feel more secure, belonging, as he would, to a confession based on an outside institution over which Trotzky had no control. Whatever they may have thought before, under the influence of a State propaganda, which has been going on for centuries, many of these priests are now inclined to agree with their great countryman Soloviev that " a national Church which is unwilling to submit to the absolutism of the State, and so to cease to be a Church at all, must necessarily have support outside the boundaries of the State and nation " (" La Russie et l'église universelle ").

This process would be facilitated by the present chaotic condition of the Russian Church. To hear some devout Russian *émigrés* speak of their Church, and to read the stately articles, decrees, nominations, and excommunications which appear in Russian ecclesiastical organs published abroad, one would imagine that a Russian Church still exists. But there is no such thing. The Russian people do not hear this satisfactory language. They do not read those decrees and articles. Each parish in Russia is isolated, and the priest in charge of it receives no communications from his ecclesiastical superiors or from Orthodox organizations outside Russia. Consequently, each priest is a little pope, who can do what he likes, and might very often be able to persuade his flock to imitate him. He can become Catholic or Anglican or Baptist; but though he hates Rome, he believes in Roman orders, and though he likes England, he does not believe in Anglican orders; and he is never likely to become a Baptist, because the Baptists do not believe that he is a priest at all, and he, on the other hand, does not regard them as being even Christians.

The Slav aspect of the Church of Rome would require a book all to itself; in fifty years' time it may require a whole

* For the sake of convenience I sometimes speak of the Latin Church and the Uniat Church, when meaning the Catholic Church of the Latin rite and the Catholic Church of the Greek rite. The Latin and Uniat Churches are one Church.

library of books. Meanwhile, it is significant that some French books on the religious situation in Russia have been published at Zagreb in Croat translations, and at Prague in Russian. Lieutenant Terseglav, editor of the *Slovenec*, who was an officer of the Czecho-Slovacs in Siberia under the Kolchak *régime*, has written excellent articles on the question of reunion; a number of Uniat pamphlets have been published by the Carpathian writer, Professor Gadzega of Uzgorod; and a whole series of Catholic brochures in Russian have appeared at Constantinople.* At Rome a new magazine, called the *Studion*, has been started as a bulletin of the churches of the Byzantine rite; and, as its name indicates, the magazine *Roma e Oriente* pays particular attention to the Uniat question. At Paris, the excellent *L'Union des Églises* is published, and in Constantinople the scholarly *Échos d'Orient*. Many able Catholic theologians, like Père Michel d'Herbigny and Dr. Aurelio Palmieri, are making a special study of Russian Orthodoxy; some of them, like Prince Max of Saxony, assume too dictatorial a tone; but most of them counsel infinite patience and extreme sympathy with Orthodox susceptibilities. The intransigent ones find that the Russian clergy are too much inclined to regard religious problems in the light of immediate political necessities, and that they would only go as far as a *demi-rapprochement*, which, without being either unity or union, would group all the anti-Bolshevik reactions together into some sort of loose federation. To give what I conceive to be the views of those intransigent ones:

"The Russians," they say, "would like the Pope to anathematize Bolshevism, but they avoid any serious discussion on the subject of reunion. When we demolish one trifling objection, they discover a new one. When we rout them out of one side issue, they take refuge in another. They throw sand in the machinery. They surround themselves by a bulwark of illusions and prejudices and false information. They hate the bitter but health-giving draught of truth, and develop an intense antipathy for those who seek to administer it to them, while, on the other hand, they adore the seductive but enervating drugs of flattery and falsehood. They regard the Vatican as disagreeably narrow

* The publisher is Zellich, Yazidji Street, Pera.

and rigid for telling them that two and two make four, and Canterbury as pleasantly broad and accommodating for heartily assuring them that they are right in believing two and two make five, though Canterbury itself believes two and two make three. Conciliatory attempts at a reunion with the Russian Church *en bloc* are much worse than a waste of time; they only serve to dissipate the uneasiness of the scrupulous ones whom we wish to attract, with the result that they will remain where they are. Individual conversion is the only way. It is difficult enough for a layman in a heretical or schismatic Church to acknowledge the Pope, but God sometimes grants him the necessary humility. It is more difficult for a clergyman. It is extremely difficult for a Bishop. For an Archbishop or a Patriarch it is practically impossible. For a whole bench of Bishops it is absolutely impossible. In June, 1439, the Greeks did accept the Pope, but their reasons for doing so were wholly political; and they afterwards repudiated the Florentine agreement. If it tries to act on the Russian Church through runaway Metropolitans, the Vatican will make the same mistake as England and France made when, in 1918 and 1919, they tried to act on the Russian people in accordance with plans drawn up by *émigrés* in the Ritz Hotels of London and Paris. Nothing good can be expected from episcopal courtiers who were friends of Rasputin yesterday and may be friends of Lenin to-morrow; who owe their advancement to pliability instead of to piety; who have, in many cases, fled from Russia and consequently lost all influence there. Owing to their training, these men cannot conceive of a religion existing alone, without any civil Government dominating it; they are simply on the look-out for powerful protectors in the political world.

"The Russian priests with whom we should negotiate are those who, owing to their independence of character and their zeal for the interests of their Church, failed to obtain ecclesiastical promotion under the old *régime*, and are still on the lowest rung of the ladder. They have remained with their flocks in Russia. They have suffered for the Christian faith. Very many of them have died as martyrs, and with these we cannot negotiate; but we can pray to them for help in our great enterprise. But we know that such of them as are alive work harmoniously with our Catholic priests in Russia. According to the accounts of the Cieplak trial which have reached us, the Exarch Fedorov's greatest crime, in the eyes of the Bolsheviks, was that he worked in alliance with brave Orthodox priests, especially with Father Kuz-

netzov, who is now, like Fedorov himself, undergoing a long sentence of penal servitude; and we know, from the admission of the Reds themselves, that the sole reason of Father Abrikosov's expulsion from Russia under pain of death was that he 'attempted to form a united Christian front.'

"We are continually hearing that Orthodox Russian opinion says this and that; we know that it savagely attacked the Pope for asking the Soviet Government to grant religious liberty to *all* religious confessions in Russia. Now what, exactly, is this thing which calls itself Orthodox Russian opinion? It is an assembly of *émigré* laymen with a very small sprinkling of runaway priests. The Russian National Committee of Paris, which wrote an outrageous 'open letter' to the Holy Father at the time of the Genoa Conference, consists almost entirely of laymen. Even at the Church Congress of Karlowitz, the majority consisted of laymen. And what kind of laymen are these? They may be divided into four categories: (1) The ones who are honest and pious, but weak, ill-informed in doctrinal matters, and afraid of opposing the militant, anti-Roman section. (2) The lay professors of theology, quite a numerous class in Russia. These men took up theology, under the old *régime*, exactly as they might have taken up botany or law, and almost every one of them finished his theological studies in a German Lutheran College. It would be as difficult to make these men admit that they are wrong as it would be to make a defending counsel in a court of justice admit that his client was guilty. (3) The literary, dramatic, and artistic ones to whom religion is a sentiment, not a discipline. These men are sometimes gifted with extraordinary ability, and they write about Christianity with a fervour, a technical skill, and a wealth of imagination such as brings tears to the eyes of the devout; but they do not understand the fundamental principles of Christianity, and are just as likely to write about Buddhism or Mohammedanism in the same extravagant language. (4) The political ones who, before the revolution, did not believe in Christianity, but are now strong advocates of Orthodoxy, because they see in the Orthodox Church the only fragment of their old world which remains in existence, and hope to use that Church for the purely political purpose of overthrowing Bolshevism, and restoring them to the comfortable positions which they occupied before the revolution.

"The Russian people are fundamentally Catholic, for neither the doctrine of Papal supremacy nor that relating to the procession of the Holy Ghost (the only two doctrines

wherein they differ from Roman Catholics) has any practical effect on the religion of the average *muzhik*. It is the organization which professes to control the Russian Church and to speak for it which is anti-Catholic; and we should have nothing at all to do with this organization, either with that portion of it which is still inside Russia, trying to make some sort of compromise with Bolshevism, or with those fragments which are to be found in Paris and Berlin, and which pretend to speak for the whole Orthodox Church. This is the view held by the greatest of Russian philosophers, Vladimir Soloviev, who declared that 'for centuries the body of our Church has been fettered to a foul corpse, that poisons her as it decomposes,' that corpse being 'the official institution represented by our ecclesiastical government and school of theology,' which 'maintains at all costs its exclusive and particular character, and certainly is not a living portion of the true universal Church founded by Christ.'"

In all this there is some truth, for, of course, Rome will only have reunion by submission, never by compromise; but Rome has never spoken to Russia in this violent and tactless way. Rome's attitude may be gathered better from Père d'Herbigny's books, in one of which ("La tyrannie soviétique et le malheur russe") we find the following passage:

"The Russian emigrants find themselves brought suddenly face to face with realities of which they were ignorant. Prejudices, often infantile, inspired them at first with a profound distrust. Little by little, however, the more serious of them discovered that up till then they had known practically nothing of the real aspect of Catholicism. . . . Then they discovered with surprise that all their positive beliefs were to be found again in the Catholic faith, from which they had been derived. . . . It was natural that the desire for unity should then flame up of itself in their hearts without any human propaganda, under the sole breath of the Holy Ghost."

Even after the murder of Mgr. Budkiewicz and the attack made on the Vatican by the Patriarch, the Holy See retained its relief mission in Russia and continued feeding Bolsheviks and Orthodox alike. This meant, and means, an enormous expenditure; but loss of money is nothing to a Church which has sometimes lost in a single year hundreds of great abbeys,

scores of ancient cathedrals, vast libraries, celebrated Universities, famous works of art, flourishing missions in pagan lands, priceless manuscripts, whole religious orders, whole kingdoms.

I might add, in conclusion, that the Slav Catholics of the Latin rite—that is, the Czechs, the Moravians, the Slovaks, the Poles, the Slovenes, and the Croats—take a keen interest in religious developments in Russia; but, naturally, a still greater interest is taken in them by the Slavs of the Oriental rite, who form, by the way, two dioceses in Bulgaria, one in Croatia, seven in Eastern Galicia, and two in the United States of America.

I have said much in this chapter of religious movements, Russian and foreign, and of the rivalries of Churches; but the one great, outstanding fact of the religious situation in Russia I reserve till the last. That fact is that every form of Christianity in Russia is threatened by atheist Bolshevism. Ten years ago there were probably a million candles lighted every morning on altars, in wayside shrines, and before wonder-working ikons throughout the great empire of Russia, from the Baltic to the Pacific, but there are not a hundred candles lighted now, and most of the shrines and churches are showing signs of neglect or decay.

I do not speak of the Baltic States, Finland and Poland, which are covered with unlighted, crumbling shrines that remind one of abandoned ships strewn on the bed of a sea which has for ever retreated (perhaps); in Russia itself one passes thousands and thousands of cold and ruinous chapels, fit memorials of a Church which Soloviev described in the terrible phrase, "*L'Eglise morte.*"

The passage of years seems only to mellow and ripen the Gothic churches of the West, but, owing to the amount of paint and gilt with which they are adorned, to the fact that they are often built of wood, and to the fierce assault which the cold makes on them every winter, the Byzantine temples of Russia need continual repairs which only a wealthy Government could ensure; and if Bolshevism lasts ten years longer, 90 per cent. of the churches in Russia will be unfit for use. Even before they are officially certified as "dangerous," these churches are frequently pulled down by

the local Soviets "for reasons of traffic." In December, 1922, fifty of the Moscow churches were condemned, and the chapel of Alexander II. in Moses Square, near the end of Tverskaya Street, Moscow, was levelled with the ground. And, according to the newspapers, the same process is going on all over Russia; one can hardly open a single issue of the *Izvestia* without finding a jubilant announcement about a church which has been converted into a picture-palace or a wayside chapel which has been demolished. And, according to a circular of Lunacharsky, which I have already quoted elsewhere* (Paragraph No. 1, Circular No. 200, December, 1921, on "The Use of Buildings formerly Religious"), all churches in Russia may be used, not only for religious services, but also for "other purposes—courses of instruction, lessons, lectures, concerts, theatrical representations, magic-lantern entertainments, balls, discussions, and meetings."

With the decaying shrines and the rain-sodden ikons one cannot, of course, expect the English or American Puritan to have much sympathy. "So much the better," I hear him say. "Russian Christianity is only getting rid of its superstitious accretions, and will be all the stronger and healthier for the loss of them." But it is not only the superstitions, it is religion itself which is disappearing. A year ago I sat at a window overlooking St. Isaac's Square in Petrograd, admiring the great cathedral; and, noticing the direction of my eyes, a Jewish employee of the local Soviet said to me in a jubilant tone: "It looks strong, but our engineers tell us that, being built on piles sunk in a marsh, it is sinking, and will have collapsed completely inside of twenty years."

Russia may lose all religion. That would be for her and for the whole world a calamity in comparison with which the Great War and the Bolshevik Revolution would be infinitesimally trifling. The next worst thing that could happen would be that the Orthodox Church became an object of political rivalry on the part of England and France. "But that is impossible," I hear the reader exclaim. "We are not in the sixteenth century."

Rural Russia and a good part of Eastern Europe are still,

* Part II, Chapter I.

however, in the sixteenth century; no French Government has ever been averse to using religion abroad as a political factor; and British Governments have, during the last few years, taken an extraordinary interest in the Eastern Churches, an interest not, perhaps, entirely doctrinal.

The Bolsheviks, however, see no such danger. What they dread is that all the Christian Churches will unite, and that the great schisms of A.D. 1054 and A.D. 1559 will both be healed.

They have certainly succeeded in bringing all the Christian Churches closer together than they have ever been before; but to give the details of that *rapprochement* would require, not a paragraph, but a volume. All I can do here is to remind the reader of the generous protests made against the Cieplak trial by the representatives of every Christian Church in England and America.

The British Government's strong protest, the statements made by the spokesmen of the Foreign Office in both Houses of Parliament, and the articles in the British press made it very clear that England regarded that trial as mummery, and the execution which followed it as murder. The information whereon this view was based came, in the first instance, from the British representative at Moscow, Mr. R. M. Hodgson, who is an able, unsentimental expert on Russian affairs, and, by religion, an Anglican. I visited Mr. Hodgson on several occasions during the trial, and found him filled with honest indignation, an indignation which ignored altogether the fact that the prisoners were all of them foreigners and Roman Catholics. That indignation was shared by the British people, and it did them the greatest honour. America was equally indignant, and equally honoured by her own generous indignation. The violent and universal protest that went up from press and pulpit all over the United States was an extraordinarily reassuring and impressive demonstration. Few Europeans have any idea of how mighty was the storm of moral wrath that swept America from the Atlantic to the Pacific when Archbishop Cieplak and Mgr. Budkiewicz were condemned to death. America is sound.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

THE BOLSHEVIK NEWSPAPERS ON THE CIEPLAK TRIAL

In order to be perfectly fair to the Soviet Government, I reproduce here translations in full of all the accounts of the Cieplak trial which appeared in the two leading newspapers in Moscow, the *Izvestia* and the *Pravda*, from the day before the trial opened until several days after the sentences had been pronounced. Being greatly pressed for space and in order to avoid needless repetitions, I have omitted the reports of some speeches as they are given in the Bolshevik press; but in all such cases I draw attention to the fact, and point out where the speeches thus omitted are to be found elsewhere in this book. I also omit *résumés* of the Act of Accusation, which is printed elsewhere in full.

The *Izvestia* is the official organ of the Central Executive Committee and the *Pravda* is the official organ of the Bolshevik Party. They both give very imperfect and very dishonest accounts, inasmuch as they omit almost everything of any importance which was said by the prisoners, and all the truculent phrases which were used by Krylenko; and they make a number of deliberate misstatements, some of which I indicate in footnotes. But even to persons without any legal training, these Bolshevik accounts alone would make it fairly clear that the Cieplak case was a case of religious persecution. In proof of this, I could cite many passages from the subjoined translations, but the reader will doubtless find them without any assistance from me. In turning them over, however, I come on one such passage, at random, and I shall give it here. It is the following extract from the *Izvestia* of March 24, 1923:

"It should likewise be noted how well the 'holy fathers' of the Catholic Church, who now occupy the prisoners' bench, had understood what a powerful weapon for subjugating young minds to the 'ideals of the Church' they possessed in the shape of 'the divine law,' which they persisted in teaching to children. In purposely ignoring the decrees of the Soviet Government on the separation of Church and State, and on the separation of Church and school, these pastors have behaved most consistently. During all the years of the revolution and up to the present day, they have continued zealously to teach 'the divine law' as

a sort of ' group-course ' or ' study-circle ' subject. The accused assert that these courses of religious instruction were of a private nature. Some of them, moreover, protest that they will never at any time renounce teaching ' the divine law.' "

All the prisoners who were asked if they would continue teaching the Catechism to children declared that they would continue to do so, law or no law. This, however, by the way.

Another such passage, also selected at random, occurs in the article which was published by the *Izvestia* on March 24. The writer of this article says that the celebration of Mass in private houses was, under the circumstances, a violation of the law on the separation of Church and State.

Before letting the extracts speak for themselves, I might remark that the use of italics, and small capitals, and in many cases the present tense where we should use the past, are all peculiarities of the Bolshevik newspapers from which I quote, and that the literary style of the original is bad, for newspaper reporters in Russia are now, as a rule, comparatively incompetent men, who, before the revolution, used to make a precarious living by selling stray articles to the *Bourse Gazette*, the *Ryech*, and other papers, but seldom got beyond the hall-porter with their wares.

The originals of all the articles translated below were cut out by myself from the *Izvestia* and *Pravda*, but in some cases the name and date of the paper was not attached to the cutting. In such cases I add a note of interrogation. This only means that the article came from the *Izvestia* instead of from the *Pravda*, or *vice versa*, or that, to take the last extract, the date of the article was either March 30 or March 31.

Pravda (?), Moscow, March 20, 1923:

TRIAL OF THE CATHOLIC CLERGY.

On March 21 the Roman Catholic Archbishop Cieplak and sixteen priests* will be tried before the Supreme Tribunal.

[Here follow unimportant details already published.]

Izvestia of the All-Russian Central Committee Executive, March 21, 1923. [After giving details already published, this newspaper adds:]

Entrance by special permit.

[Then it says:]

The case of Archbishop Cieplak and a number of priests cited before the Supreme Tribunal of the Republic is not complicated

* There were only fourteen priests. Even during the trial, the Bolshevik newspapers continually made mistakes about the number of prisoners in the dock.

in itself, and is of interest only for the fact that the accused appeal, in defence of their actions, to the " canon law of the Roman Catholic Church in Russia (*sic*)." The Archbishop and his accomplices resisted the execution of the law on the use of the churches, and of the decree on the confiscation of Church valuables. It is well known that the former of these two laws meets the religious needs both of the Orthodox and of the Roman Catholics; by these laws all Church property is declared to belong to the people, but buildings used for public worship are transferred to the faithful for their use. An agreement has to be signed by the representatives of the Government and by a body of not less than twenty of the faithful, and under the terms of this agreement the church is assigned for temporary use to the faithful, whose representatives assume all responsibility for the safe custody of national property. At first the Roman Catholics, like the Orthodox, did not refuse to enter into such agreements, in virtue of which Catholic churches in Moscow and in other towns were handed over to the faithful. But since Cardinal (*sic*) Ropp, who left Russia towards the end of 1919, was succeeded by Archbishop Cieplak, their tactics have undergone a radical change. Cieplak forbade the priests and their congregations to enter into any such agreements, and where any such had already been signed (as in Petrograd), the Roman Catholic signatories repudiated their signatures, and the Roman Catholic churches had perforce to be closed. Cieplak takes his stand on the principle that these agreements violate the canon law. According to that law, all articles dedicated to use in the services of the Church are the property of the Catholic Church as a body, and may only be confiscated with the consent of the head of the Church—viz., the Pope of Rome. On this ground, Cieplak ordered the parish priests to resist the confiscation of Church valuables.

" The canon law of the Roman Catholic Church " is rather a curious institution. It is founded entirely on principles generally accepted in the Middle Ages, when the Church laid claim to a power superior to that of " the temporal powers." For instance, according to canon law, the Popes or Bishops have to this day the right of pronouncing an " anathema " or sentence of excommunication, which has terrible results when it is the head of a State who is thus placed under an interdict; the faithful are bound to refuse him their allegiance, to disobey his orders, to pay him no taxes, and so forth. These articles of the canon law have never been repealed, and therefore still hold good " in principle." In practice, however, the Roman Catholic Church has always been extremely pliable, and has adapted herself to varying social and legal conditions. With regard to rights of property in buildings and in articles dedicated to the service of religion, it is obvious that here, too, the " principles " of the canon law have long been discarded. It is only necessary

to recall the fact that the museums of Catholic countries such as Austria, Italy, and Bavaria, contain large collections of interesting specimens of ecclesiastical art—*e.g.*, communion vessels, candlesticks, screens, pictures, etc. How could the Pope of Rome tolerate the "profanation" of such "sacred" objects? It was the simplest thing in the world; no one asked his leave, and when a good price was offered for these valuables, the clergy sold them without more ado.

Again, we observe that in spite of the canon law, the Church of Rome has adapted herself perfectly well to the laws on the separation of Church and State in France, in the United States of America, and in other countries. It is interesting to note that the status of the Roman Catholic Church in the United States is practically the same as it is in Russia; the churches belong to the faithful, who form a legal corporation in which the rights of possession are vested.

Hence it follows that the canon law must not be looked upon as an obstacle preventing the Roman Catholic Church from adapting herself to the laws of the Soviet Republic. Why was it, then, that Archbishop Cieplak showed no inclination to practise that opportunism for which the Roman Catholic Church is notorious? It may be surmised that his tactics were dictated to him by Rome. The Roman Curia (the Papal "government") is anxious to settle the questions affecting the Catholic Church in Russia by direct negotiations with the Soviet Government. In order that this purpose might be achieved, Cieplak received orders to abandon Ropp's policy of compromise and to create "incidents" calculated to compel the Soviet Government to negotiate with the Pope of Rome.* But this is exactly what the Soviet Government is not prepared to do. The Soviet Government can only deal with Catholics resident in Russia, and not with the Catholic "authority" of the Pope of Rome, who claims the right to intervene in the internal affairs of the Republic; certainly no such intervention will take place as a result of the provocative action of Citizen Cieplak.

The situation is absolutely clear: if Cieplak and Co. consider themselves bound by canon law, in virtue of which the Pope is the sole disposer of Church property, then let them take steps privately to obtain permission from the Pope for the faithful to conclude the agreements required by our laws. Otherwise they run the risk of the churches remaining closed. No mockery of our laws will be tolerated from the Romish, any more than it was from the Russian priests.

J. Markhlevsky.

* This is the direct opposite of the truth. The Soviet Government has always shown itself excessively anxious to have a diplomatic representative of the Vatican appointed to Moscow, but the Vatican has, up to the present, refused to send such a representative.

Pravda, Moscow, March 22, 1923:

TRIAL OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CLERGY.

Yesterday the cause of the Catholic clergy was brought up for trial at the sitting of the Supreme Tribunal presided over by Comrade Galkin.

The trial is taking place in the Blue Hall of Union House. The left side of the platform is entirely occupied by the accused, who are symmetrically seated in rows of four. Conspicuous among the black cassocks of the Roman Catholic clergy is the robe of the Greco-Catholic Exarch Fedorov. The chief among the accused, Archbishop Cieplak, occupies a seat in the second row, and is easily recognized by his scarlet skull-cap, the badge of his office. Punctually at noon the clerk of the court proceeded to read the act of indictment. From the very first pages it was impressed upon all those present that, from the earliest beginnings of the revolution, the Roman Catholic clergy had adopted an irreconcilable attitude towards the Soviet Government, an attitude in which they persist to this day. It is true that in 1918 the priests and their parishioners became parties to the agreements enabling them to take over the churches; but this they did, as indeed they confessed subsequently, "merely for fear of losing their lives." At a later date the Catholic clergy, as a body, were anxious at all costs to come into collision with the Soviet Government, and laid their plans for a protracted struggle. A "society of Catholic priests and laymen" was formed, secret meetings were held, and finally Archbishops Ropp and Cieplak issued a circular letter recommending active resistance to the decree of the Soviet Government on the separation of Church and State.

For three years the energies of the Roman Catholic priests and monks* living within the borders of the Republic were directed to inciting the population against the Government, nor did they hesitate to adopt provocative measures. When the Volga district was stricken with famine and the decree ordering the confiscation of Church valuables was issued, the leaders of the Catholic clergy decided to pass to open opposition, and forbade those under them to give up any Church valuables for the relief of the famine. When the Dean of the Catholic Church at Yaroslav telegraphed to Cieplak for instructions, the latter replied: "The demand is illegal and should be disobeyed." In numbers of Polish churches the local clergy, obeying the orders of their immediate superiors, not only refused to hand over the valuables, but purposely evaded registering inventories of Church property.

* During that time there was not one Catholic monk in Russia, and only two friars—Dominicans.

After hearing the indictment, the court proceeded to examine the first incident in the case—namely, the refusal of the clergy of the church of "the Virgin Mary" to make and register a second inventory or to verify the existing valuables. The first witness to be called was Smirnov, the head of the administrative department for the Moscovsky-Narvsky district of Petrograd. He stated that in the spring of 1922 he had delegated Mikhaïlov, the official in charge of ecclesiastical affairs, to draw up an inventory of the valuables and renew the contract with the "twenty" of parishioners responsible for the church. Mikhaïlov was met by the priest Khvetzko, who declared that he would not allow the valuables to be registered, as he considered that to be a sacrilegious act. Afterwards, when the priest Khvetzko, together with the Church Council, was informed that their refusal to admit an official of the Soviet Government might lead to the church being closed, the council of the Catholic Church dissolved itself.

The witness further stated that the confiscation of valuables was carried out in the church without excesses of any kind, but that a further collision between the clergy of the aforesaid church and representatives of the Soviet Government took place later on in the autumn. As the contract had not been renewed, the local commission for ecclesiastical affairs received orders to seal the church. When the commissioners entered the church, Khvetzko and another priest, as well as the congregation, fell on their knees and began chanting Psalms. After reiterated requests to them to disperse, the commissioners were compelled to use force and to evict the demonstrators from the church. The crowd was in a great state of excitement; shouts were heard to the effect that "the Soviet power will pass away, but Christ will abide for ever," "St. Peter himself will come and break the seals," and so forth.

After hearing Smirnov's evidence, the court adjourned till the afternoon.

Izvestia, Moscow, March 22, 1923:

CHRISTIAN DOINGS: TRIAL OF THE CHRISTIAN CLERGY.

The trial of Archbishop Cieplak and other members of the Catholic clergy began yesterday at the sitting of the Supreme Tribunal.

As one listened to the proceedings, one became more and more convinced of the necessity there is of including in the Criminal Code of the R.S.F.S.R. (Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic) Article 119, which punishes the crime "of using religious prejudice for the purpose of overthrowing the Soviet Government or resisting its orders and decrees."

As the trial proceeded, the actions of the accused after the publication of the decree (of January 23, 1918) on the separation

of Church and State were disclosed. The Catholic clergy discussed ways and means for carrying out the decree at secret conferences held in Petrograd from the latter part of 1918 to March, 1920, and their debates were often rather heated. Draft minutes of the proceedings of these secret conferences are to be found among the material collected during the preliminary enquiry into Cieplak's case. All means, fair or foul, appear to have been equally acceptable. All manner of circular letters and pastorals were composed, in which any agreements between the Soviet Government and councils of the faithful are referred to as a profanation of the rights of the Church. Catholic parishioners were absolutely forbidden to become parties to any such " transactions."

Simple-minded and confiding persons, especially among the " faithful," might perhaps take it for granted that in this matter the opposition carried on by Catholic priests was strictly confined to a technically ecclesiastical sphere of action. But the " holy " fathers have themselves, with signal lack of diplomacy, destroyed any public illusion on this point. They proceeded to pass a resolution on THE NECESSITY OF COUNTERACTING THE BOLSHEVIK " POISON " BY MEANS OF SERMONS FROM THE PULPIT. THEY THREATEN CATHOLICS WITH EXCOMMUNICATION FOR BECOMING COMMUNISTS.

These " details " should force the blind to see that here we have to deal with " politics " pure and simple, undiluted by any genuine ecclesiastical interest; and if the name of " God " is here brought into play by the fathers, it is used as a means of spiritual compulsion and admonition. Even the holy Patriarch, Tikhon himself, whose " benevolent " attitude towards the Soviet Government is well known, never risked engaging himself on such a path of open and " undisguised politics."

In their campaign against the Soviet Government, the Catholic clergy did not limit themselves to the use of every form of religious propaganda and agitation. They created a network of organizations, ecclesiastical in name, but political in substance, whose aim was to resist the carrying out of the decree on the separation of Church and State. These organizations were the local parochial committees and the Archbishop's central committee, " WHICH WERE INTENDED TO EXIST DURING THE REVOLUTIONARY PERIOD PENDING THE RESTORATION OF LAW AND ORDER IN RUSSIA." Anyone educated by the Soviet will no doubt put a somewhat different interpretation on this last phrase—namely, " pending the overthrow of the Russian Government." Cieplak moved the resolution to " abandon our defensive positions and begin an offensive."

Thereupon the Catholic clergy proceeded to adopt a definite and active policy of resistance to the execution of the regulations issued by the Petrograd Soviet in conformity with the decree on the separation of Church and State, and to the execution of

the decree of February 23, 1922, on the sequestration of Church valuables.

The forthcoming examination of the accused will bring to light various incidents of their criminal activities.

Pravda, Moscow, March 24, 1923:

TRIAL OF THE CATHOLIC COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARIES.

At the evening sitting of March 22, after hearing the evidence of the agents of the executive committees of Basil's Island and Viborg, the court proceeded to examine Fedorov, the Exarch of the Greco-Catholic Church and Dean of the church of "the Pentecost." He had already declared at the preliminary examination that he does not recognize the Soviet Government because it does not recognize the canon law. He repeated this assertion before the court.

After examining the priests Matulianis, Maletzky, and Budkiewicz, the Prosecutor asked Archbishop Cieplak whether he admitted having sent a telegram to the priest Rutkovsky ordering him not to hand over the Church valuables. Cieplak replied in the affirmative, explaining that he considered the confiscation of Church valuables to be "illegal from the point of view of the Catholic Church."

On the morning of March 23, the third day of the trial, the court proceeded to examine the chief of the accused, Cieplak. Cieplak gave his evidence in a self-assured tone of voice, in which from time to time one could detect the manner of an old preacher of the Jesuit type. Not for nothing is he "a Prince of the Church" and almost a "Legate" of the "Vicar of St. Peter." He has undergone a long and careful training.

The long examination, which occupied almost the whole of the morning sitting, proves that the Archbishop-plenipotentiary of the Roman See did not betray the traditions of the order of Ignatius Loyola.* In listening to Cieplak's polished, well-chosen diction, one realized that this was no enthusiastic fanatic trembling before "canons" which he holds sacred, but an ordinary, intriguing politician steadfastly pursuing his own designs. Religion to him is but a screen to mask his black, reactionary policy. Although the Archbishop maintains that he is not opposed to the Soviet Government, nevertheless he cannot help unguardedly betraying himself by admitting that

* Archbishop Cieplak is, as I have pointed out elsewhere, neither a Jesuit nor a pupil of the Jesuits. The Bolshevik newspapers are fond of denouncing clergy of all denominations as Jesuits. Thus the *Izvestia* of April 6, 1923, denounced the Orthodox Bishop Nikander of Moscow as having acted "like a true Jesuit" because, under cross-examination at his trial, "he plainly showed his desire not to commit himself to anything definite"—in other words, refused to incriminate himself.

it is impossible for him to consent to the confiscation of Church valuables, to be a party to any agreements concerning the use of the churches, or to submit to the laws which forbid religious instruction in the schools.

Are all the occupants of the prisoners' bench enemies of the Soviet Government? Yes, they most certainly are enemies, and bitter enemies. The Roman Catholic Church, as conceived by them, is "a State within a State," and its head is invested with absolute power. Therefore the Soviet Government, which desires to dispose of property belonging to the "Apostolic See," is looked upon as an enemy against whom unceasing war must be waged. Secret societies are founded under the direction of the priests, circulars are issued urging resistance to the decrees of the Soviet Government, and at every opportunity the populace is incited to conflicts with the authorities.

Highly characteristic is the evidence given by Cieplak concerning the clerical conferences which were held in Petrograd beginning from the year 1918. He does not even attempt to deny that these conferences of Catholic clergy did actually take place, but with his customary Jesuit adroitness he endeavours to persuade the court that they were quite ordinary conferences, "mere talks, so to say," at which the assembled clergy exchanged views on "current affairs."

The statement of the priest Budkiewicz, which follows that of Cieplak, is an exact repetition of his "chief's" words. He affirms that these conferences were of a wholly pacific character. He even goes so far as to offer a rather curious explanation of the origin of the minutes of the conferences of the Roman Catholic clergy, which are part of the evidence for the prosecution; he alleges that they are not minutes at all, but just rough notes jotted down to serve as a memorandum of what had been discussed at the conferences. This is rather a naïve explanation, but obviously Budkiewicz cannot think of a better. The existence of a written document about the conferences is an important piece of evidence against the accused.

Izvestia of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee, March 24, 1923:

"Christian Doings": Trial of the Catholic Clergy.

The facts brought to light by the examination of the accused during the three days of the trial prove that after the closing of the churches, which had been rendered necessary by the refusal of those concerned to sign the contracts with the authorities of the Petrosoviet [Petrograd Soviet], the priests continued to hold services in other premises which were not registered as ordered by the decree. According to the statements of the accused themselves, the attendance at these "private" services

frequently numbered from 100 to 150 persons. None the less, the accused do not admit that they have violated the decree on the separation of Church and State, but describe these gatherings as " intimate, family services." It is clear, however, that even from the standpoint of the clergy, these services cannot be regarded as " family gatherings," because they were frequently held on premises attached to the church.

There is another point which is of interest in this connection. It is evident from the enquiry that all the articles necessary for conducting a service were used in these " unofficial churches." The President, Comrade Galkin, and the Prosecutor, Comrade Krylenko, were most anxious to know how such articles could make their appearance in these " domestic " surroundings, inasmuch as the churches were sealed. The accused stated unanimously that these articles were their " private property."

It should likewise be noted how well the " holy fathers " of the Catholic Church, who now occupy the prisoners' bench, understood what a powerful weapon for subjugating young minds to the " ideals of the Church " they possessed in the shape of " the divine law," which they persisted in teaching to children. In purposely ignoring the decrees of the Soviet Government on the separation of Church and State and on the separation of Church and school, these pastors have behaved most consistently; during all the years of the revolution, and up to the present day, they have continued zealously to teach " the divine law," taken as a " study circle " subject. The accused assert that these courses of religious instruction were of a private character. Some of them, moreover, protest that they will never at any time renounce teaching " the divine law."

Of course, all the priests assert that in ignoring the Soviet laws they were pursuing no political and certainly no counter-revolutionary end, but that they were unable to fulfil the orders contained in the decree on the separation of Church and State and in other decrees because these were contrary to the canons of the Catholic Church. The conflict is in the sphere of abstract ideas, and is by no means a struggle for the uncontrolled possession of the material wealth of the Church. A sidelight is cast on the sincerity of these statements of the saintly fathers by a document of a " private " character which was produced in court by Comrade Krylenko and added to the evidence at his request. It is a letter written by the priest Yunevich, the very same who in a fit of righteous indignation shouted to the representatives of the Soviet Government who had come to seal the church: " Get you gone !" The letter is addressed to Yunevich's brother living in Moscow. This letter, along with such phrases as " we [*i.e.*, the Catholic clergy] are now and again emphasizing our indignation," and " we occupy our old positions and hope, with God's help, to keep them," contains the following truly immortal sentence: " WE, AS BEFORE, ARE NOT SO BADLY OFF;

THE PEOPLE ARE CONTRIBUTING MORE THAN EVER TO OUR MATERIAL WELFARE."* (This letter was read in court.)

The court spent a long time in investigating one incident which serves to incriminate the central figure in the case—Archbishop Cieplak. At the time of the confiscation of Church valuables, the priest at Yaroslav, Rutkovsky, having received a request from the confiscation commission to present an inventory of the valuables contained in the church, referred the question to "His Grace" Cieplak. The latter replied by telegram, for once quite openly and decisively: "THE DEMAND IS ILLEGAL; DO NOT DELIVER INVENTORY." Therefore, in this instance, Cieplak gave a direct order to disobey a demand founded on an equally direct order contained in the decree on the confiscation of valuables.

"Was this the meaning attached by Cieplak to his telegram?" asks Comrade Krylenko. Cieplak explains that the word "illegal" was used by him to mean incompatible with the canon law of the Roman Catholic Church; he certainly did not mean that the demands of the Soviet Government were contrary to the civil law.

"In that case, why did you add, 'Do not deliver inventory'?" asks Comrade Krylenko. And "His Grace" reluctantly admits that, as formulated by Comrade Krylenko, the practical significance of the telegram lay in its last sentence. After long-drawn evasions, Cieplak admits that HIS AIM WAS TO FORCE THE YAROSLAV PRIEST, RUTKOVSKY, TO REFUSE TO DELIVER THE INVENTORY.

At the request of Comrade Krylenko, a copy of the sentence passed by the provincial revolutionary tribunal of Yaroslav on the priest Rutkovsky, who was imprisoned for failing to produce an inventory of Church valuables at the demand of the confiscation commission, was read in court.

The court then heard read Archbishop Cieplak's circular letter, which was issued on January 3 of last year, PRIOR TO THE PUBLICATION of the decree on the confiscation of Church valuables (February 23, 1922). Foreseeing the "Church" questions which would be forced upon the "holy fathers" after the publication of the decree, for he obviously knew that the decree was being prepared, Cieplak "considers it urgent to give certain instructions to the reverend Deans of the churches." The circular letter states: "ABOVE ALL, IT IS IMPERATIVE FOR US TO TAKE A FIRM STAND ON THE BASIS OF THE CANON LAW."

And "canon law," of course, lays it down that Church property

* This letter was read in court, but, as far as I remember, no proof of its authenticity was given, and Father Yunevich was not even asked if he had written it. The whole letter is given in the Bolshevik pamphlet, from which I translate it in full; but the sentences quoted by the *Izvestia* are not exactly the same as the corresponding sentences in the pamphlet.

in general, and articles of worship in particular, are the inalienable property of the Church, that they are sacred, and so forth. They must not be handed over to any body of the faithful, must not be taken over by the State, and are not liable to civil registration, valuation, inspection, nor, above all, to confiscation, without the express permission of the ecclesiastical authorities. In this circular letter, Archbishop Cieplak endeavours to base his instructions, not only on the canon, but also on the civil law. He is emphatic that if unauthorized "agents" demand the surrender of Church property, it should be pointed out to them that by the terms of the decree on the separation of Church and State, the State has no right to interfere with the internal life of the Church, and also that the inviolability of the Roman Catholic Church is guaranteed by the Treaty of Riga.

Without denying "His Grace's" right to issue pastoral instructions to the "reverend Deans," Comrade Krylenko reminded Cieplak that the decree on the separation of Church and State lays it down in black and white that Church valuables as well as Church buildings are under the jurisdiction of the State; they are national property, only to be handed over by special agreement to religious denominations for their temporary use.

Comrade Krylenko also reminds the Archbishop that Article 7 of the Treaty of Riga, which Cieplak had cited as guaranteeing the inviolability of the Roman Catholic Church within the territory of the R.S.F.S.R. (Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic), contains the words: "WITHIN THE LIMITS OF THE INTERNAL LEGISLATION OF THE R.S.F.S.R." In virtue of this limiting clause, the decrees on the separation of Church and State and on the confiscation of Church valuables are LEGALLY APPLICABLE TO THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH, NOT MERELY BY REASON OF THE INTERNAL CONSTITUTION OF THE R.S.F.S.R., BUT ALSO BY REASON OF THE OBLIGATIONS INCURRED BY THE REPUBLIC UNDER THE TREATY OF PEACE WITH POLAND.

In reply to these observations of Comrade Krylenko, Cieplak finds no better argument than that the words "within the limits of the internal legislation of the R.S.F.S.R." were regarded by Catholics as a "mere formality." According to Cieplak, this was the interpretation put upon them by both Polish and Russian jurists. "In that case, and in order to avoid misunderstandings, why did you not address yourself to the N.K.J. [People's Commissariat of Justice] ?" asks Comrade Krylenko. "I thought it was an international question," replies Cieplak.

"And did you apply to the Polish Government for explanations ?"

"N-no-o."

Comrade Krylenko then requested that the document which bore witness to the correspondence of Cieplak with the "Holy See" in Rome on the subject of the agreements for the use of

the churches should be added to the evidence, because in it Cieplak admits having received a reply on the subject from "the Apostolic Nuncio" (Papal representative) in Poland, Archbishop Laurentius, to whom he declares himself to be directly subordinate. This reply stated that "the most Holy Father hastens to declare that he absolutely repudiates all such agreements," and that "in the event of the aforesaid (Soviet) Government proceeding to close the churches, it behoves your Grace to apprise the Holy See thereof immediately."

The explanations given by Cieplak concerning this document, which was read in court, prove, among other things, that Cieplak was in correspondence with the Pope of Rome and with Poland, not only through the proper official channel (the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs), but also PRIVATELY, a fact which the accused frankly admitted. The proceedings in court ended in a complete exposure of the secret activities of the Roman Catholic clergy during the period 1918 to 1922, during which time Archbishop Cieplak convened secret assemblies at which methods of resisting the decree on the separation of Church and State and of organizing "a campaign to be directed from the pulpit against Bolshevik poison" were discussed and agreed on. This part of the trial is of supreme interest (a number of most interesting documents were read in court), and shall be dealt with in our next issue.

Pravda, Moscow, March 25, 1923:

TRIAL OF THE CATHOLIC COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARIES.

The evening sitting of March 23 was taken up with the reading of the minutes of the conferences of the Catholic clergy in 1919. These conferences were clearly of a political character, and their object was the elaboration of practical methods for resisting the Soviet decree on the separation of Church and State. It was at these conferences that the scheme was devised according to which the so-called "parochial committees" and the central committee for co-ordinating the work of the parochial committees were to be formed. A section of the clergy present expressed the opinion that these parochial committees should not be registered at the local Soviet office for ecclesiastical affairs, or, if this could not be avoided, then it should be done only in those parishes where it should prove to be absolutely necessary. As to the constitution and aims of these committees, Archbishop Ropp expressed the opinion that "we must draw up something much shorter to show to the Bolsheviks."

Both the central and the parochial committees continued to exist illegally for over a year, and to work against the Soviet Government in its endeavours to enforce the decree on the separation of Church and State. The idea underlying the parochial committees—that the Dean is the head of the parish

and that all Church property is in his custody—is in direct contradiction to the principle of the organized "twenties" (groups of twenty parishioners) ordained by the decree.

The political character of these conferences is clearly demonstrated by the minutes of the meetings held in 1920. Among others that were read in court was a paper on "The Attitude of the Church to Communism," in which the clergy were exhorted to preach sermons in church warning the faithful of the dangers of Communism; also a paper "On the Indissolubility of Marriage," after which a resolution was carried that the civil registration of marriages should not be recognized. In this paper it was stated, among other things, that the Bolsheviks recognized the principle of sharing wives in common, and as a proof of this the "eminent" speaker referred to a statement, attributed by him to Kautsky, that, among the higher apes, wives were shared in common, and hence all the more reason that the same custom should subsist in a socialistic community. Several of the clergy present, however, expressed doubt as to the truth of this statement.

"Are not these political acts of war?" asks the Prosecutor ironically of Budkiewicz, who had acted as secretary at the conferences.

"Not at all. This is a war of ideas. We always remained within strictly canonical bounds." (Laughter.)

At one of the conferences held in 1920, Cieplak propounded a scheme of action for the parochial committees under the direction of the Deans of the churches. At this same conference the Catholic clergy decided to pass from the defensive to the offensive. This offensive was to take the form of sermons from the pulpit demanding freedom to teach religion in the schools and churches, of a definite refusal to sign the contracts, of the organization of protests of every kind, and so forth. The upshot of all these resolutions was the pastoral issued by Cieplak and conceived throughout in this spirit.

On being asked by the Prosecutor whether his pastoral was issued in connection with the "abstract" debates held at the clerical conferences, Cieplak replied: "There is only a casual coincidence. . . ."

The change from passive to active resistance was also marked by the organization of a procession of the faithful as a protest against the arrest of Archbishop Ropp and several priests, who had been seized as Polish hostages. This procession, after a service held by Cieplak in St. Catherine's Church, marched to the house in Gorochovaya Street, where Archbishop Ropp was kept under arrest.

In answer to the Prosecutor's request that Cieplak, Budkiewicz, and Maletzky should give the court some account of this procession, the accused replied: "We do not remember . . .," "We have forgotten . . .," and so forth. The Prosecutor then

observed, " Fortunately, when the priest Budkiewicz is likely to forget anything, he writes it down first," and proceeded to quote a document written by Budkiewicz and containing a detailed account of the procession. As to the part played by the priests in this procession, " it goes without saying that they had nothing to do with it," had never organized it. . . .

A characteristic incident came to light at this point. During the domiciliary visit at the apartments of the Dean of St. Catherine's Church many articles belonging to the Polish hostages were found in the attic.

The Prosecutor passed next to the " Historical Memorandum on the Separation of Church and State in Bolshevik Russia." This memorandum contains a summary of the debates held and the resolutions carried at the conference of the Catholic clergy, and is divided into three sections: (1) The genesis and development of the idea of the separation of Church and State; (2) the protests made by the members of various denominations against the regulations; and (3) the organization for the defence of the churches.

An important fact is here brought to light which proves the existence of intercourse between the accused Fedorov, Exarch of the Greco-Catholic Church, and a notorious counter-revolutionary, the Orthodox ecclesiastic Kuznetzov, who was at one time sentenced to death, a sentence which was afterwards commuted to ten years' penal servitude. This intercourse was carried on with the object of effecting concerted action on the part of the Orthodox and the Catholic clergy for protesting against the regulations concerning the Church contracts.

On examination, Budkiewicz stated, among other things, that the parochial committees were organized as a counterpoise to the " twenties."

The evidence contained in the memorandum leads to the following conclusion: In the matter of signing the contracts, a policy of procrastination, protest, etc., must be adopted. The chief object of these conferences was the elaboration of tactics for an organized and active resistance to the decree on the separation of Church and State.

It came out, among other things, that the Catholic clergy appealed to the German Embassy, the Polish Government, and the Danish " Red Cross " for protection, and obtained from them " certificates for safeguarding the churches."

" Why did you appeal to foreign patronage? " asks the Prosecutor, addressing Budkiewicz.

" The Catholic Church is an international institution," replied the latter, thereby provoking laughter in court.

In the course of the morning sitting on March 24, the President allowed the defence to cross-examine the accused. Kommodov and Bobrishchev-Pushkin, acting for the defence, questioned Cieplak on his attitude in respect of the agreements for the use

of Church property. Cieplak, true to himself, replied that he "might allow the signing of agreements, but only with the reservation," as was elicited by fuller examination, that the contract must be merely "provisional," pending some imaginary agreement in the future between Rome and the Soviet Government.

Much time was next spent in hearing the explanations of the Exarch of the Greco-Catholic Church, Fedorov. In giving an account of his life, Fedorov stated that he was himself a proletarian, his grandfather having been a serf. In reply to the President's puzzled query as to where the proletarian Fedorov had found the means for his education abroad, he explained that his father had been "rather a careful eating-house keeper," who at his death left a fortune of fifteen thousand roubles, but, unfortunately, even this sum proved insufficient for life abroad, and he had been obliged to apply for a grant, which the Catholic Bishop, Andrew Sheptitsky, allowed him. This "heir of an eating-house keeper," after imbibing the principles of Jesuit wisdom in the back quarters of the Vatican, became one of the most zealous and determined enemies of the Soviet Government. He displayed great energy in working for a united front on the part of the Catholic and Orthodox clergy for the purpose of resisting the decree on the confiscation of Church valuables.

[The first speech of Krylenko follows, but I do not give it, as this version contains nothing which does not appear in the version I reproduce in Part II, Chapter VII.]

An Eloquent Document.

The accused Catholic clergy, now on trial, are endeavouring to prove that they have never meddled in politics and are only anxious to obey the canon law. This is fundamentally untrue; the examination in court has already proved that they are political enemies of the Republic. Moreover, it has been demonstrated that the majority of the accused were in close communication with Poland. Their eyes were fixed on that country. One of the chief of the accused, Budkiewicz, carried on negotiations with the Polish authorities, begging them to pay the debts contracted by the parochial board of one of the churches. At an earlier date—namely, in 1918—the Polish priests did not hesitate solemnly to express their loyalty to the Polish State. This document was produced at the enquiry. Here it is:

"*To the Immortal Memory.*

"This took place in 1918, the fourth year of the Great War, on the 18th day of June. The Archbishop of Moghilev, Baron Edward Ropp, after a service held by him in the church of SS. Peter and Paul in Moscow, consecrated the apartments occupied by the representatives in Russia of the High Regency

Council of the Kingdom of Poland, in the presence of the Polish *Chargé d'Affaires*, Alexander Lednitsky. Before the assembled associations and members of the Polish colony in Moscow, the Archbishop pronounced a blessing on the future work of the Polish Mission, which would promote the welfare of their regenerated motherland and her religion. The Polish *Chargé d'Affaires* called for cheers in honour of the High Council of the Supreme Head of the Polish nation, and this request was enthusiastically responded to by all present. Then the assembled Poles sent to the President of the new-born Polish State, to the State Council (as the custodians of the newly-created rights of the State), and to the Council of the Marshal a message of loyalty, expressing their feelings of devotion to their fatherland and of faith in the welfare and happiness of a regenerated Poland. All the above was endorsed for immortalization by the autographs of all present."

Among the numerous persons who signed this message of "civic loyalty" to the Polish Government was one of the principal accused in the present case, Budkiewicz, who, to the present day, calls himself a Russian subject.

Pravda, March 25 or 26, 1923:

THE CATHOLIC COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARIES BEFORE THE TRIBUNAL.

The court of the Supreme Tribunal is proceeding with the trial of Archbishop Cieplak and sixteen priests on charges of resisting the decrees and regulations of the Soviet Government for the separation of Church and State, and of agitating against the confiscation of valuables for purposes of famine relief.

The case is one of the utmost political significance. The substance of it is this: The Roman Catholic clergy have taken advantage of the religious prejudices of the believing masses to conduct a campaign against the Soviet Government.

This campaign has been carried on for five years. From the first advent of the Soviet Government, the Catholic priests have taken up a hostile attitude towards it, although the Government of workers and peasants was the first to establish the complete equality of all creeds and denominations. The Soviet Government put an end to the persecutions endured by the Roman Catholic Church in the days of the Tzardom at the hands of such men as Eulogius and Purishkevich, those cassocked and uniformed *gendarmes* who carried out the policy of Tzariat Orthodoxy. The Soviet Government proclaimed the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of the Church, which, on her side, was not to interfere with the affairs of the Government, while being strictly subordinated to the control of the Government.

One would suppose that this state of affairs would meet with the approval of the Catholic hierarchy, to say nothing of the mass of the faithful. However, Archbishop Cieplak and the clergy under him were not satisfied with the rights granted to them. They demanded privileges for their Church and, to begin with, refused to recognize the nationalization of Church property. For them, the importance of the question lay, perhaps, not so much in the actual property, which was in point of fact handed over to the faithful free of charge for their use—the Catholic Church owned no large estates in Russia—as in the principle of ownership. In their view, Church property was the possession of the Roman Catholic International Trust, and not of the toiling people of our Republic as represented by the State, nor even that of the faithful themselves. In this respect Messrs. Cieplak and Co. were defending the positions of Entente capital and propagating its principles. They sought to obtain legal exterritoriality after the manner of British capitalists in Constantinople. The priests thought that " Soviet laws do not exist for the servants of the Vatican."

Taking advantage of the Soviet Government's toleration, the accused made use of all the means of sabotage at their disposal, besides rousing up against the Soviet Government the masses, whom they befooled and hoodwinked. They threatened the faithful with excommunication if they signed the agreements entitling them to use the churches *for religious purposes only*, or handed over Church valuables [to the representatives of the Soviet Government]. They passed resolutions for combating the " Bolshevik poison " in church and in the schools. They forbade Catholics to join the Communist Party. They issued appeals, organized protests, falsified the text of the Treaty of Riga, to which the faithful were ordered to appeal, and so forth.

Counter-revolutionary action was masked by Jesuit diplomacy. Thus, for instance, in 1919, Archbishop Ropp, counting on the speedy downfall of the Soviet Government, allowed the faithful to sign " fictitious agreements." When, however, the Soviet Government was firmly established, his successor, Cieplak, forbade any kind of " transactions " concerning Church property, because " no articles contained in the churches may be handed over to any group of parishioners, for those who desire to do so, *not being the owners of these articles*, possess no right over them; no agreements, registration, or inspection by persons not *specially authorized thereto* must be allowed in respect of such articles " (Cieplak's circular).

In consequence of these instructions, the faithful repudiated all the agreements they had previously signed and refused to enter into new ones. All the proposals made by the authorities were rejected. There remained no alternative but to close the churches in those places where the faithful, at the instigation of the priests, persisted in their refusal (*e.g.*, in Petrograd and

Minsk). The counter-revolutionary agitation conducted by the priests led in Petrograd to excesses and to outbursts of hooliganism on the part of the Catholic hypocrites last December. It should be particularly noted that in spite of the provocative behaviour of the priests and the Catholic parishioners, our troops behaved with perfect self-control.

The instigators and chief culprits in these excesses are now occupying the prisoners' bench. They refused to reconcile themselves to a Government which granted them equal rights with all other religious denominations, though they had managed to get on very well with absolutism and had submitted to all its orders, including the use of the Russian language and the teaching of the Scriptures in Russian to Polish children. They dutifully offered up prayers for all the Tzars, supporting their authority, not merely from fear, but in all good conscience, against a revolutionary people. To Poles, groaning under the yoke of absolutism, they preached that this power was of God and therefore to be obeyed.

The Soviet Government, strong in the support of the great bulk of the population, does not stand in need of aristocratic birth or clerical support. Let the Church stand aloof from the vanities of the world, but do not let her ministers use religion as a weapon against the Soviet Government. For if they do, they will receive the punishment they deserve.

J. Leszczyński.

Izvestia, Moscow, March 25 (?), 1923:

Christian Doings.

At the conclusion of the examination of Cieplak, Comrade Krylenko requested the Supreme Tribunal to take special note of the fundamental points in his statement—viz., his avowal of the fact that he had sent a telegram to the priest Rutkovsky forbidding him to deliver an inventory of the Church valuables to the confiscation commission; his admission that the non-deliverance of the said inventory by the priest Rutkovsky was a direct consequence of the aforesaid telegram; and that the diocesan circular issued by the accused on January 3, 1923, *was a practical indication* of the attitude to be adopted by the Catholic clergy for the purpose of resisting the decree on the separation of Church and State. Comrade Krylenko also emphasized the fact that Cieplak's communications with Rome and Poland were conducted through private, and therefore illegal, channels; and that, having received from the Apostolic Nuncio in Poland the information that the "Holy See" prohibited any agreements with the representatives of the Soviet Government [regarding the use of the churches and of Church property], he made this widely known among the Catholic clergy, without considering it necessary to notify the Soviet

Government officially of the same. Incidentally, Cieplak stated that in the administration of property belonging to the Catholic Church, the last word rests with the Bishop.

It has already been noted that the accused justify all their criminal activities by appealing to the canon law. A copy of the canonical code of the Roman Catholic Church was produced at the trial. With reference to this code, Cieplak himself declares that the canon law of the Roman Catholic Church is as ancient as the Church herself, and has been neither revised nor altered for centuries. The canons have been compiled into a code by order of Pope Pius X. Cieplak himself—note the characteristic detail—admits that, very possibly, some of these canons reflect the epoch of the conflicts between Popes and Emperors.

When questioned as to his attitude towards the confiscation of Church valuables, Cieplak replied: " There can be no question of sanctioning the confiscation of valuables from the Catholic churches. But neither was there any direct prohibition."

The seat next to Archbishop Cieplak's on the prisoners' bench is occupied by the priest Budkiewicz, Dean of St. Catherine's Church in Petrograd, the property of which before the war was estimated at 7,000,000 roubles, with a yearly revenue of 300,000 roubles. After Cieplak, Budkiewicz is one of the most active instigators of the counter-revolutionary movement among the Catholic clergy. Budkiewicz is not a man of many words; his replies to questions are always brief, cautious, and extremely vague. . . . He frequently refers to his bad memory. Fortunately, those facts which Budkiewicz seems to have partially or wholly forgotten can be established by means of documents; indeed, the documents are almost too numerous—draft minutes of the conferences of Catholic clergy held at Archbishop Cieplak's residence, draft minutes written in Budkiewicz's handwriting. The accused—Cieplak, Budkiewicz, Yunevich, Vassilevsky, Fedorov, Eismont, Khodnevich, Yanukovich, Matulianis, Khvetzko, Maletzky, and Ivanov—admit that they took part in these conferences; the priests Troigo, Rutkovsky, and Pronsketis deny having been present at them.

Budkiewicz confirms the charge that at these secret conferences of the Catholic clergy all the difficulties were discussed which had arisen in connection with the decree on the separation of Church and State and of Church and school, and that, on the same occasions, the line of action to be taken by the Catholic clergy was determined as laid down in the canon law. The subjects discussed included the inadmissibility of concluding any agreements for the use of the churches, the attitude of the Catholic Church to the Communist Party, and so forth.

At the request of Comrade Krylenko, two documents written by Budkiewicz himself were read before the Supreme Tribunal: "The Question of Signing Agreements under Existing Circumstances," and " An Historical Memorandum on the Separation

of Church and State in Bolshevik Russia." Budkiewicz writes that when, after the publication of the decree on the separation of Church and State in 1918, the Archbishop [Ropp] had authorized the signing of contracts for taking over the churches, with a reservation as to the provisional character of such agreements, he had done so because the downfall of the Soviet Government was expected shortly. "As, however, Bolshevism is still in existence, and may last indefinitely, we have no lawful grounds for entering into any agreements without the consent of the Holy See," so says Budkiewicz to correct a mistake in tactics, adding that "the signing of such agreements is opposed to the laws of our Church, and the signatories will be denied Holy Communion, or excommunicated." Discussing further tactics, Budkiewicz writes: "There is this to be said in favour of not signing the agreements, that in this case we are not bound by any obligations, and the Bolsheviks will have more respect for Catholics who protest than for Catholics who submit."

On the question of the agreements, Budkiewicz recommends "a policy of procrastination, protests, and so forth." He cynically declares that this policy is "the most practical of all."

Two letters written by Budkiewicz and addressed the one to Cieplak and the other to a certain "dear Sir" (a private person) were also read in court. These documents show that Budkiewicz, who always was, and still is, a *Russian* subject, had addressed a petition to the Polish Government requesting it "to take the steps necessary for achieving the restitution to the Catholic Church of the confiscated houses and of all property in general, both movable and immovable, that had been confiscated from the Catholic churches." On June 18, 1918, Budkiewicz, together with Archbishop Ropp, took part in the consecration of the premises of the Polish Mission in Moscow. After a solemn *Te Deum* and banquet, the assembled Polish patriots, with the Polish *Chargé d'Affaires* in Moscow, Lednitsky, at their head, sent a telegram with expressions of loyalty to the Polish Government. This telegram was signed by Budkiewicz among others, he being, as we have already said, a Russian subject.

Budkiewicz's reply to Comrade Krylenko, who desired him to explain "the strategy and diplomacy" displayed in the documents we have quoted, is worthy of note. "It is all so logically clear that further explanations seem to me unnecessary," says Budkiewicz. Comrade Krylenko and the members of the Supreme Tribunal agree with Budkiewicz that any comment would be superfluous.

The later stages of the examination of the accused, which was concluded on the fourth day of the trial, disclosed a number of details which throw still more light on their criminal activities. It is important to note that, in his later statements, Cieplak declared that the permission of the "Holy See" for signing

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agreements with the Soviet Government concerning the use of the churches, was received on the very day before the trial, but the prisoners, according to Cieplak, had no time to carry out the instructions of the "most Holy Father."

So much for a general outline of the examination of the accused.

[I here omit the *Izvestia's* version of Krylenko's first speech, for the same reason as I have omitted the *Pravda's*—that is, because it contains nothing which does not appear in the version I give myself in Part II, Chapter VII. To be strictly accurate, however, I must confess that it does contain one statement which is not to be found in any other version of this speech. That statement is that Krylenko asked for only two death sentences. Now, I myself heard Krylenko demand four death sentences, and so did the reporter of the *Pravda*, which I have just quoted, as well as the compilers of the Bolshevik pamphlet. This gross inaccuracy is characteristic of the Soviet Government's official organ, which does, as a rule, reduce by at least one-half, not only the number of death sentences passed by the Red courts of "justice," but the number of official murders committed by the Soviet Government.

For the same reason as that given above, I also omit the account given in the *Izvestia* of March 26 of the speeches for the defence delivered by Messrs. Bobrishchev-Pushkin and Kommodov, the reply of Krylenko, and the speeches from the dock. To all the speeches from the dock, taken together, the *Izvestia* gives less than 200 words, whereof about 100 words consist of editorial gibes and sneers. Incidentally, there is here also an inaccuracy. "Cieplak," says the *Izvestia's* reporter, "expressed the hope that the 'earthly tribunal would prove just and merciful.'" Nothing is said of his noble reference to the heavenly tribunal, or of the fact that from the earthly tribunal he only asked for justice, not for mercy.]

The *Pravda* of March 27 and March 30 contain long, abusive articles against every country that protested against the sentences, but I shall not translate these articles, firstly because they do not deal with the trial, and secondly because considerations of space prevent me from reproducing them. They are based on the ludicrously unjust supposition that the Archbishop and his priests were "hirelings of foreign capital," and that all those who protested against the sentences constituted "a chorus of counter-revolutionary jackals and hyenas." The following excerpts may interest England and America, and at the same time give the reader who is unfamiliar with Russia some idea of the Bolshevik journalistic style:

"The reformed Jewish rabbis of New York are also protesting, The Jewish race used to be a helot among helots, but Messrs. the Jewish rabbis have forgotten the old enmity; Jewish bankers reign supreme throughout the world. They, together with

the uncircumcised rabbis of all denominations, not only exploit millions upon millions of workers of all nations and religions, but dominate the world. How can the Jewish rabbis fail to protest against the punishment of frocked counter-revolutionaries ? Thou to-day and I to-morrow. If it is necessary for the revolution, Soviet Russia will not hesitate to hang the spiritual hirelings of the banking firm of ' Kuhn and Lob ' or of ' Rothschild Brothers.' The united front of the bourgeoisie throughout the world offers to Labour an example of unity and zeal in the defence of one of the instruments of its supremacy. Nowadays the Roman Catholic Church is the chief weapon of Capital. Its supremacy is founded on the support of other Churches, the support of the press of all bourgeois parties, the support even of free-thinking science. ' Do not dare to touch one of my servants,' says international Capital. And when the Catholic priest, the Protestant clergyman, and the Jewish rabbi come forth as the champions and servants of Capital, when Capital and its servants are defended by a mercenary press and by men of science no less mercenary, will menials and fools be lacking from the parties of compromise ? Honest old Lansbury and Ben Turner, the leaders of the compromising section of British Labour—they are all shocked. Not having the courage to break with the bourgeoisie, they naturally have not the courage to break with the spiritual servants of the bourgeoisie. The revolutionary English workmen in the forties of the last century edited in pamphlet form with their hard-earned pennies the ' Works of Feuerbach,' works directed against all religions. The reformed leaders of British Labour, in frock-coat and top hat, now go to church of a Sunday in order to be like other ' gentlemen.' What is mere hypocrisy on the part of knaves becomes conviction with the more honest but less intelligent members of British Labour. Old Lansbury wants to turn religion and the Church into instruments for the enfranchisement of the working classes, and old Ben Turner sends us the telegram: ' Human life is precious. Do not hang the Archbishop.' The British Labour Party did not spend a tithe of the sum on telegrams of protest against the execution of strikers in South Africa, brutally murdered by that idol of British Liberalism, General Smuts; but when it comes to priests, then the British ' party of toil ' suddenly remembers that human life is precious and old Lansbury appeals for our magnanimity. It seems almost an object-lesson to revolutionary workers, as demonstrated by Messrs. the Compromisers, that world-capital not only is upheld by bayonets, fraudulent priests, a bourgeois press, and bourgeois men of science, but that its final and perhaps greatest stronghold is to be found in the servility and moral flunkeyism of the reformed leaders of the proletariat."

Pravda (?), March 30 or 31 (?), 1923:

COUNTERFEIT INDIGNATION.

(*Leading Article.*)

The sentence pronounced against the Roman Catholic clergy has stirred the reactionary circles of the bourgeois States. Strictly speaking, the commotion began long ago. From the moment of Cieplak's summons, and especially from the beginning of the trial, the popes and black reactionaries nearly the whole world over raised a hue and cry. . . .

No sooner was Cieplak's trial begun THAN A GREAT COMMOTION WAS STIRRED UP BY THE GERMAN CATHOLIC "CENTRE" AMONG THE POLISH ANTI-SEMITES AND BRITISH CONSERVATIVES. It is highly probable that the order "Bestir yourselves!" was given from the Vatican as the headquarters of the Catholic reaction. At any rate, not only the Catholics, but the high clergy of all denominations, considered themselves attacked by the trial of Cieplak, and found the moment propitious for a fresh attack on Soviet Russia. . . .

This shows that REACTION KNOWS HOW TO MOBILIZE ITS FORCES. This widespread outburst of counterfeit indignation proves the enormous influence which is still retained by the Catholic Church. That is, however, nothing to be wondered at. THE CHRISTIAN CHURCHES IN GENERAL, AND THE ROMAN CHURCH IN PARTICULAR, APPEAR NOWADAYS AS ONE OF THE MAIN SUPPORTS OF THE UNIVERSAL REACTION AND OF THE BOURGEOIS STATES. And if the arrest of the Patriarch Tikhon caused the reactionaries, and especially the Archbishop of Canterbury, to attempt to stir up a commotion, it is not to be wondered at that the trial of such a pillar of international reaction as was the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Russia should raise a great outcry. The hooligans and pogrom-makers of the whole world certainly lost no opportunity for fishing in troubled waters. While the "humane" and soft-hearted lords, who propose to deport their own unemployed to Australia, who shoot down from aeroplanes the population of whole provinces in India, Mesopotamia, and Africa, who sentence to death hundreds of peasants in India driven to desperation by British taxation and oppression, have in this case deemed it fit to drape themselves in the toga of humanity, nobleness, and virtuousness.

APPENDIX II

THE BOLSHEVIK LAW: CIVIL AND CRIMINAL

On October 23, 1922, when Krylenko, the Public Prosecutor in the Cieplak case, was "Zamnarkom," or Acting-Commissar of Justice, he brought before the fourth session of the Vsik a series of "regulations for the judiciary," and all those regulations were approved of by the Vsik. Among those regulations I find the following: "If a sentence does not correspond to the spirit of Bolshevik legislation, it can always be cancelled." On this, Krylenko made the following comment: "If there is no possibility of pursuing a firm and definite policy, we run the risk, considering the disorder in our civil laws, of a people's judge in some district or other pronouncing sentences which, though formally correct, may in reality, owing to chicanery, be fundamentally in contradiction with the general spirit of our Soviet policy." (I quote from the official copy of these regulations, published by the People's Commissariat of Justice, 1922.)

The same extraordinary idea that anything which goes against "the general spirit of the laws" is either criminal or else null and void permeates all Bolshevik jurisprudence, giving it a strong bias against what I may describe broadly as every Western conception of freedom, of trade, of commerce, of religion, of contract, etc., and putting unlimited power into the hands of the Public Prosecutor, who is always at liberty, under this theory, to transfer a case from the realm of fact to the realm of rhetoric.

For example, Part I of the General Section of the Civil Code says that "civil rights are protected by law, save in cases when those rights are exercised in opposition to the social-economic purpose of the law," that "social-economic purpose" being to ensure the Bolshevik dictatorship with all that implies. No wonder that, in an article on the code, the *Pravda*, October 26, 1922, says that "the first article of the code destroys the effect of all the remaining 434 articles." A judge can, at his own discretion, decide that any action of a non-Communist is detrimental to the interests of the Soviet Republic, and can therefore deprive such a man of all his rights in the eyes of the law.

The Criminal Code, Special Section, "Crimes against the State" (Moscow, 1922, printing office, *Znanie*), furnished Krylenko with a whole armoury of weapons, not only against the clergy of every denomination, but also against all foreign merchants and journalists who are not Communists.

The Constitution of the Soviet Republic states that the Soviet Republic protects the interests of the working classes, but deprives individual persons and groups of rights which are exercised to the prejudice of the Soviet Revolution.

This means that traders and commercial companies, Russian or foreign, which are regarded by Comrade Krylenko or any other Soviet official as acting in opposition to the general spirit of the Soviet Revolution may be deprived of all their legal rights —outlawed, in fact. And, judging by the Cieplak trial, it will always be as easy for Krylenko to prove that these traders or commercial companies were acting in opposition to the general spirit of the Soviet Revolution as it was for him to prove that Mgr. Cieplak and his clergy were acting in opposition to the general spirit of the Soviet Revolution. Under such a regulation no foreigner, unprotected by diplomatic privilege, is safe in Russia, and no non-Communist Russian is safe.

The most striking point about the statement of accusation which I give in Part II, Chapter III, is the peculiar use of the term "counter-revolution"; and at all the political trials which have been held so far by the Bolsheviks, the vague and elastic use of this term leads to many abuses being committed in the name of the law.

The Russian Criminal Code, which has been in operation in the Soviet Republics since June 1, 1922, contains a special section dealing with "Infringements of the Regulations for the Separation of Church and State" (Section III, Articles 119-125). Moreover, Article 227, the last in the code, is also aimed directly at certain manifestations of the religious life. However, the Soviet tribunals enjoy great latitude in the application of the law, and in ecclesiastical causes they are not bound to adhere strictly to the articles above mentioned.

Article 10 of the code states: "In the case of offences not specifically mentioned in the Criminal Code, penalties and sanctions will be applied in conformity with the general spirit of the code and with those articles which deal with offences which in gravity and character approximate most closely to the offences in question." It is in virtue of this article that the Catholic priests brought to trial before the Moscow tribunal were indicted of crimes and offences punishable, not only under Section III, but also under Articles 40, 57, 62, 63, 77, and 78 of the Criminal Code.

Certain other articles of the code recognize even more explicitly the arbitrary power of the tribunals. Article 34 states that "the sentence of imprisonment may be imposed for a term of from six months to ten years," and Article 37 stipulates that sentence of imprisonment may be imposed for a term of from seven days to one year." Whenever the code does not lay it down that the maximum penalty shall be imposed (and this is often the case), the judge has the right to impose it, and, by a special

regulation, the maximum may be superseded by the death penalty. Article 33, in the most recent version, says that "in cases tried before revolutionary tribunals and in cases where the present code imposes the maximum penalty, death by shooting is to be substituted for that maximum." Consequently, even in those cases in which the code fixes a relatively moderate maximum penalty, this apparent mercifulness may possess a sinister significance. Thus Article 124 punishes the celebration of religious rites in premises owned by the State by a maximum of three months' penal servitude, but the judge of the revolutionary tribunal may replace by the death penalty a sanction which has the illusory character of a correctional measure.

It is also worth noting that, in contradistinction to the codes of "bourgeois" countries, which do not punish offences by penalties which had not become law at the time of the commission of the offence, the Soviet code is applied "to all offences which had not been tried before its promulgation" (Article 23). Numerous alleged counter-revolutionary actions committed during the last few years thus fall under this recent Soviet code, and may lead to prosecutions resulting in the death of the accused.

The text of those articles of the code which were referred to in the sentences pronounced at the Cieplak trial, and also Article 227, which deals with religious offences, is as follows:

Article 40.—Suspension of civil rights consists in the deprivation for a maximum of five years—

(*a*) Of electoral rights, both active and passive (Fundamental Law, Collection of Laws, November, 1918).

(*b*) Of electoral rights, active or passive, in connection with professional and other organizations.

(*c*) Of the right of exercising public functions, being assessor of the people's tribunal, counsel before the tribunals, trustee, or guardian.

The term of this suspension in the case of persons condemned to imprisonment will be reckoned from the date of the expiration of their sentence, or from that of their conditional liberation.

Article 57.—Any action which tends to overthrow the power that the Workmen's and Peasants' Soviets have acquired through the Proletarian Revolution or to overthrow the Workmen's and Peasants' Government which has been established under the Constitution of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic is to be deemed a counter-revolutionary action. Any support given to those sections of the international bourgeoisie which do not allow equal rights to the Communist system of ownership (which is destined to supplant capitalism), and any attempt to overthrow the Communist system by means of armed intervention, blockade, espionage, corruption of the press, etc., are likewise to be deemed counter-revolutionary actions.

Article 62.—All members of any organization which attempts to incite the population to insurrection, to induce the people to refuse to pay taxes, and perform their duties as citizens, or which by any other means attacks the dictatorship of the revolutionary proletariat with the object set forth in Article 57 of the Criminal Code, even if the immediate object of the organization be not insurrection or armed intervention, are liable to the penalties laid down in Article 58, §§ 1 and 2.

NOTE.—These penalties are as follows:

Article 58, § 1.— . . . The maximum penalty and sequestration of all property. Where there are attenuating circumstances, this penalty may be commuted to a maximum of five years' solitary confinement and sequestration of all property.

Article 58, § 2.—If the tribunal finds that the accused acted in ignorance of the ultimate object of the organization, his membership is to be punished by a minimum term of three years' imprisonment.

Article 63.—All members of any organization which either opposes or utilizes, for counter-revolutionary purposes, the normal functioning of Soviet institutions and undertakings, are liable to the penalties laid down in Article 58, §§ 1 and 2. (Under this article, workmen who go on strike on the railways, in the mines, or in factories could be severely punished.)

Article 77.—Any participation in civil disorders, which is not aggravated by the criminal actions set forth in Article 75, but which constitutes a definite act of disobedience to the legal demands of the civil authorities, or which hinders the authorities in the fulfilment of their official duties, and likewise any pressure exercised upon the civil authorities in order to compel them to satisfy illegal pretensions, even in the case where disobedience is only shown by a refusal to dispel a gathering menacing public security, is to be punished—

(1) In the case of agitators, leaders, and organizers, by a minimum term of two years' solitary confinement.

(2) In the case of other convicted persons, by imprisonment for a minimum term of six months.

Article 78.—A refusal *en masse* to pay taxes in cash or in kind, or to fulfil any legal obligation, is to be punished—

(1) In the case of agitators, leaders, and organizers, by imprisonment for a minimum term of one year, with total or partial sequestration of property.

(2) In the case of other convicted persons, by imprisonment for a minimum term of six months and a fine, the amount of which may be less than double the amount of the taxes or duties involved.

Section III.—Infringement of the Regulations for the Separation of Church and State.

Article 119.—Whosoever utilizes the religious superstitions of the masses in order to plot against the Government of Workmen and Peasants or to instigate resistance to the laws and decrees of the said Government is liable to the penalty laid down in Article 69 of the Criminal Code. (This penalty is strict solitary confinement for a minimum term of three years. Article 69.)

The same crimes, if committed in time of war or of popular risings, are to be punished by the maximum penalty allowed by law.

Any incitement of the people to active or passive resistance to the orders of the central or local authorities, provided counter-revolutionary purposes have not been proved, is to be punished by the penalty laid down in Article 83 of the Criminal Code (*i.e.*, strict solitary confinement for a minimum term of one year).

If agitation or propaganda is carried on in time of war with the object of preventing citizens from fulfilling their military duties, or obligations and duties in connection with military operations, the penalty may be raised to the maximum.

Article 120.—Whosoever uses fraudulent devices to excite the superstitious spirit of the masses or to obtain profit for himself is liable to imprisonment or hard labour for a maximum term of one year.

Article 121.—The teaching of religious doctrine to persons under age in public and in private schools is to be punished by hard labour for a maximum term of one year.

Article 122.—Any pressure exercised in the collection of funds for ecclesiastical or religious organizations is to be punished by hard labour for a maximum term of six months, and two years' deprivation of the right of signing agreements with the local Soviets for the utilization of the property of the said organizations.

Article 123.—Every religious or ecclesiastical body which usurps administrative or judicial rights or functions, or assumes a public and official character, is to be punished by dissolution together with confiscation of its property, and its members are liable to hard labour for a maximum term of six months.

Article 124.—The celebration of religious rites on the premises of State institutions and houses of business, and likewise the introduction of religious images into the said premises, is to be punished by hard labour for a maximum term of three months, or a maximum fine of 300 gold roubles.

Article 125.—Any hindrance offered to the performance of religious rites, in so far as the said rites do not offend against public order and are not accompanied by attacks on the rights of citizens, is to be punished by hard labour for a maximum term of six months.

Article 227.—Any celebration of religious rites or ceremonies in violation or attempt at violation of the rules and by-laws of local authorities for the regulation of traffic is punishable by hard labour or a maximum fine of 300 gold roubles.

I have seen the expert opinion passed by two English lawyers, both of them Protestants, on the Cieplak prosecution. That opinion, which was based on the official reports of the trial received by His Britannic Majesty's Government, condemns the prosecution as strongly as I do myself.

"It is surely nonsensical," say those authorities, "to argue, in the manner of Krylenko, that the organization of priests at Church meetings was in effect a counter-revolutionary act committed with the intention of overthrowing the Government. . . . Indeed, it appears that Krylenko, feeling the weakness of his case, felt it necessary to drag in a reference to Article 59, which provides for the punishment of persons who communicate with foreign Governments. The only evidence which could be trumped up to support this additional charge, which, so far as can be ascertained, was not included in the indictment, was that the priests had, in the course of their duty, been in communication with the Holy See, and that Budkiewicz had signed a congratulatory telegram to the Polish Government upon their action in the establishment of a Polish Mission in Moscow. It would be difficult to find a precedent for such a complete distortion of innocent words even in the political trials of Stuart times in this country under the *régime* of the Star Chamber. . . . As soon as the court had accepted the construction of the prosecution that the Church was, in fact, a political organization with counter-revolutionary aims, it became impossible for the defence to make any headway. It was argued reasonably and plausibly that the aim of the priests was to struggle against irreligion and godlessness. This plea having been rejected, the conviction and sentence of the prisoners followed automatically."

A Professor of Law at one of the English Universities has given me the following opinion on the Cieplak trial:

"As a matter of fact, there is precious little law in the case. The priests were certainly guilty of teaching children, and the functioning of the ordinary ecclesiastical organization was necessarily of an anti-Governmental character in the sphere of Government anti-religious legislation.

"Probably the Christian martyrs were often equally 'guilty' of illegal conduct."

Bolshevik Circular forbidding Religious Instruction.

The following is the famous circular of January 3, 1922, to which Krylenko frequently appealed during the course of the Cieplak trial. I make no attempt to improve the style or to split up the interminable sentences characteristic of all Bolshevik documents.

"*Circular to the Directors of the Ecclesiastical Bureaux in the Regional Executive Committees on the Teaching of Religion in Churches, etc., and in Private Houses.*

"The teaching of religion to children, before and during school age, assembled in churches and in other ecclesiastical buildings, or in the houses of private individuals, is hereby forbidden. In the same way the law likewise forbids the teaching of no matter what truths of faith, in accordance with the authentic interpretation of the decrees of the Soviet of the People's Commissars of the 23rd of January, 1918, and because, in accordance with the instruction issued by the People's Commissariat of Justice, the churches, prayer-houses, chapels, temples, synagogues, etc., are confided to confessional associations, which may use them gratuitously, but only for religious services and ecclesiastical ceremonies.

"At the same time, in conformity with the declarations of the directorate of the Unique Workers' School at the People's Commissariat for Education, in response to an enquiry from the People's Commissariat of Justice occasioned by the affairs of the Section of Justice of Riazan Province, the imparting of religious instruction cannot be permitted, even in private houses, to all those who have not passed their eighteenth year. For the non-execution of these decrees and interpretations would lead, in effect, to the re-establishment of the ecclesiastical schools, suppressed by a decree of the Soviet of the People's Commissars.

"As for the teaching of subjects which can properly be called theological, which teaching is taken into consideration by the decree, this teaching can be authorized in special establishments opened by permission of the Soviet authorities for citizens who are no longer under eighteen years of age and who are able to discuss religious questions intelligibly.

"Considering what is said above, and in order absolutely to cut short collective teaching and individual relations with isolated persons under eighteen years of age on the part of ministers of all existing religions on subjects of faith, of religious traditions, and of cult, no matter in what place this is carried

out, prosecution will follow with all the rigour of the revolutionary laws.

"The present circular will be transmitted against receipt for same to each ecclesiastical parish council which is to carry it into execution.

"(*Signed*) THE VICE-DIRECTOR OF THE GOVERNMENTAL SECTION (IVANIKOV).

"THE DIRECTOR OF THE ECCLESIASTICAL BUREAU (BORISOV).

"THE SECRETARY (MIKHAÏLOV).

"Certified as authentic: V. BORISOV."

APPENDIX III

THE SENTENCES IN THE CIEPLAK CASE

Translation from a Copy of the Original Russian Document (No. 787).

The Sentence.

In the name of the Russian Socialist and Federal Soviet Republic, the Supreme Tribunal of the Republic, consisting of the President, Comrade Galkin, and the members Comrade Chelyshev and Comrade Nemtzov, at the public* sittings of March 21 to 25, 1923, having examined the cause of the citizens:

[Here follow the names of prisoners.]

The Supreme Tribunal finds that the Roman Catholic clergy of Petrograd, led by Archbishop Ropp and Archbishop Cieplak, whilst acknowledging the salutary effect of the decree on the separation of Church and State, in so far as it grants to Roman Catholics, together with all other citizens, complete freedom of religious conscience and absolute liberty for the faithful to practise their religion, objected to Articles 8, 9, 12, and 13 of the said decree, which laid down the exclusive right of the civil authorities to execute civil documents and settle questions of civil status, which separate the schools from the Church, which deprive ecclesiastical bodies of the right of property and of all legal status, and which proclaim all Church possessions the property of the people of the Soviet Republic. However, so long as the said decree, which was promulgated in the early days of the revolution, was not put into execution to its full extent, the Roman Catholic clergy remained passive; but as by degrees the nationalization of property was carried out throughout the Republic, after the confiscation, under the provisions of the said decree, of the large and lucrative real estate belonging to the church of St. Catherine in Petrograd, and after the confiscation was extended to the actual fabric of the churches with their movables and altar plate, with the transference of the same to the faithful for their free use subject to a form of agreement, the aforesaid clergy began to elaborate methods of resisting the Soviet Government with the object of recovering the confiscated property and the forfeited status of the Church.

* The *Izvestia* of March 21, 1923, says: "Entrance by special permit." See "Bolshevik Newspapers on the Cieplak Trial" in Appendix I.

Being, however, convinced of the extreme instability of the Soviet Government and expecting its early downfall, the leaders of the Roman Catholic clergy in Russia were ready to authorize their parishioners to sign the said agreements concerning Church property without attaching any serious significance to such agreements, considering them provisional and fictitious, and continuing to look upon the property itself as still belonging to the Church. Mgr. Budkiewicz, with the consent of Ropp, went so far as to mortgage the real estate of St. Catherine's Church to private persons in Petrograd for the sum of 600,000 roubles, redeemable after the fall of the Soviet Government and the restitution of Church property.

When, however, Cieplak, Budkiewicz, Ropp, and other ecclesiastics lost all hope of the overthrow of the Soviet Government, they proceeded to organize a resistance *en masse* to the decree of January 23, 1918, on the separation of Church and State. Having held a series of preliminary conferences for working out a plan of action, they, consciously aiming at the restitution of their property and rights, initiated a campaign for undermining the dictatorship of the working classes and undoing the conquests of the October Revolution. This campaign developed as follows:

Ropp's successor, Archbishop Cieplak, according to his own statement at the trial, regarded the formation of parochial councils (the so-called " twenties "), as proposed by the Government for assuming responsibility for Church property, as constituting a danger for the clergy in the sense of undermining discipline among the faithful and removing the unrestricted management [of Church property] from the heads of the Church; he directed the clergy under him on no account to tolerate the formation of parochial councils nor to sign agreements with the authorities concerning Church property. In consequence of the vehement agitation against the Soviet Government conducted by the priests Maletzky, Budkiewicz, Yanukovich, Vassilevsky, Eismont, Yunevich, Matulianis, Khvetzko, Troigo, Khodnevich, Ivanov, and Fedorov, the Catholic parishioners, under the influence of their Bishops, repudiated the said agreements. This repudiation led, in December, 1922, to the closing of the Catholic churches in Petrograd, there being no one responsible for the safety of the property; this closing of the churches caused great excitement among the rank and file of the faithful, encouraged thereto by the above-named persons. When, before Christmas, the Catholics of Petrograd sent a delegation to Moscow to beg permission to have the churches opened for the celebration of Christmas, and when the said delegation brought back from Moscow a permit from the Narkomjust (People's Commissariat for Justice) for the churches to be opened on condition that the parish councils signed, not an agreement, but a plain guarantee, Bishop Cieplak, having received the said

permit, concealed the same from his parishioners and from the Soviet authorities in Petrograd, and made a false statement—that the Government had refused to open the churches for Christmas, *thereby further exciting his parishioners to active demonstrations against the Soviet Government.*

Moreover, Cieplak, foreseeing the publication of the decree on the confiscation of Church valuables for purposes of famine relief, issued in January, 1922, a circular addressed to all the Roman Catholic clergy in Russia, urging the inadmissibility of such confiscation, and, when questioned on the subject by the priest Rutkovsky of Yaroslav, he replied by a telegram *forbidding the surrender of the valuables* and the delivery of the Church inventory to the local authorities.

Simultaneously, the same group of clergy headed by Cieplak organized numerous conferences in Petrograd at which purely political questions were discussed—*e.g.*, the nature of Communism, the programme of the Communist Party; and plans for further opposition to the Government and for involving the parishioners in the struggle were elaborated. By the united efforts and at the expense of the above-named persons an illegal paper, *The Moghilev Chronicle*, was published in Polish, and its whole tenor was violently anti-Soviet. The resolutions carried at these conferences were subsequently put into action.

The soul of all these conferences was Mgr. Budkiewicz, who produced written political reports, memoranda, and schemes of action, with the object of laying down the plan of campaign of the Roman Catholic clergy against the Soviet Government and of suggesting various methods of conducting the struggle. Thus, at first, pending instructions from Rome and assistance from Warsaw, and in order to gain time, Budkiewicz recommended a policy of procrastination in the negotiations with the Soviet authorities; this was agreed upon, but later on it was decided to start "a sort of offensive" and to use indiscriminate provocation among the parishioners, so far as was possible. In consequence of this new policy, the parishioners, led by these same priests, resisted the closing of the Petrograd churches. At the church of the Assumption of Mary in the first *Rota*, the parishioners, led by the priest Khvetzko and his assistants, Rutkovsky and Pronsketis, resisted the closing of the church, and Citizen Sharnas loudly insulted the Government agent who had arrived at the church to take the inventory; the same crime was committed in July, 1922, by the parishioners of St. Casimir's Church, in Ushakovsky Street, led by the priest Eismont; so again at the church of St. Stanislaus under the leadership of the priest Yunevich, and in St. Catherine's Church under the leadership of the priest Khodnevich; while in the churches of the "Immaculate Conception" of St. Francis, of the "Heart of Jesus," of the "Heart of Mary," and of St. Boniface, the resistance offered to the authorities was headed by the priests

Vassilevsky, Yanukovich, Matulianis, Maletzky, and Budkiewicz respectively.

Moreover, Mgr. Budkiewicz, being present in Moscow at the solemn inauguration of the first Polish Mission, sent, in common with other persons, a telegram to the Polish Government protesting his loyalty to the said Government, in spite of his being at the time, as he still is, not a Polish but a Russian subject.

And over and above all else, the accused clergy have all stated at the trial that where the injunctions of the Pope are in direct conflict with the decrees of the Soviet, they consider themselves bound by the orders of the Pope, and that not only in matters of faith and morals, but likewise in the matter of the confiscated and nationalized property of the Church.* The said priests likewise stated at the trial that, notwithstanding Article 121 of the Criminal Code, which was read in court, they have taught, and intend to continue teaching, children the so-called "divine law," and will neither recognize nor obey the said article of the Criminal Code which forbids such teaching.

Having taken cognizance of the above-stated facts, the Supreme Tribunal finds guilty:

1. John Cieplak and Constantine Budkiewicz of being with full intention and purpose the leaders of the above-mentioned counter-revolutionary actions, of organizing the Roman Catholic clergy in Petrograd for resistance to the Soviet Government, of undermining the dictatorship of the proletariat, of attempting to re-establish the Church's former rights of property, and of inciting the general body of parishioners to active resistance to the Soviet Government; and, owing to the existing religious prejudices of the masses, they did actually succeed in producing such resistance; and, further, of refusing to obey the laws of the Soviet Government—crimes punishable under Articles 62, 119, and 121 of the Criminal Code.

2. S. F. Eismont, E. S. Yunevich, L. A. Khvetzko, P. V. Khodnevich, and L. J. Fedorov, of active participation in the counter-revolutionary organization organized by Cieplak and Budkiewicz, as shown by their actions described above, and of refusal to obey the Soviet laws—crimes punishable under Articles 62, 119, and 121 of the Criminal Code.

3. A. J. Maletzky, A. M. Vassilevsky, P. J. Yanukovich, T. J. Matulianis, J. J. Troigo, D. A. Ivanov, F. F. Rutkovsky, A. P. Pronsketis, of acting as accomplices in the crimes of Cieplak and Budkiewicz, of refusing to obey the Soviet law, and of agitating against the Soviet Government by actions described above—crimes punishable under Articles 68, 69 § 1, 119, and 121 of the Criminal Code.

* This passage occurs in the version of the sentence published in the Soviet newspapers, but not in the official version of the sentence issued by the court.

4. J. J. Sharnas, of insulting behaviour to the Soviet authorities in the church of the "Assumption of Mary" at the time of the sequestration of valuables—a crime punishable under Article 88 of the Criminal Code.

And therefore have sentenced:

Cieplak and Budkiewicz to suffer the supreme penalty of the law—to be shot.

Eismont, Yunevich, Khvetzko, Khodnevich, and Fedorov to imprisonment for a term of ten years with strict solitary confinement, and deprivation of civil rights according to Article 40 of the Criminal Code for a term of five years.

Maletzky, Vassilevsky, Yanukovich, Matulianis, Troigo, Ivanov, Rutkovsky, and Pronsketis to imprisonment for a term of three years without strict solitary confinement, but with deprivation of civil rights according to Article 40 of the Criminal Code for a term of three years.

Sharnas to six months' imprisonment conditionally, and with deprivation of civil rights.

Inasmuch as the criminal activities of the accused continued after the amnesty of November 7, 1922, the said amnesty does not apply to them. The entire property of the condemned persons—Cieplak, Budkiewicz, Eismont, Yunevich, Khvetzko, Khodnevich, and Fedorov—is to be confiscated for the profit of the Republic. Sharnas is to be set free from custody.

GALKIN (President).
NEMTZOV, CHELYSHEV (Members).

Copy correct: Secretary of the Judicial Collegium of the Supreme Tribunal of the R.S.F.S.R.

(*Signed*) BYKOV.

DECISION OF THE PRESIDIUM OF THE ALL-RUSSIAN CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

(*From the "Pravda" of March* 30.)

The Presidium of the V.R.C.I.K., having considered the appeals of Citizens Cieplak and Budkiewicz, whom the Supreme Tribunal had sentenced to suffer the supreme penalty of the law, has decided as follows:

1. The actions of Citizen Cieplak, as established by the court, were openly and consciously directed against the interests of the working classes and the essential supremacy of the proletariat, and were an insidious abuse of the freedom of conscience which the law allows to all religious denominations. These acts therefore constitute a monstrous crime, and one for which in a revolutionary Republic, still surrounded by numerous enemies, no other penalty is fitting save that decreed by the court for Citizen Cieplak. Nevertheless, inasmuch as Citizen Cieplak

represents a Church which suffered persecution and oppression in the days of Tzarism and of the bourgeois Republic, and as for this reason the execution of the sentence, which Cieplak fully deserves, might be interpreted by the unenlightened mass of the Catholic population in the R.S.F.S.R. [Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic], whose religious prejudices have been exploited by Cieplak and his associates, to be specially directed against a priest of their faith; as an exception to the general policy of the Republic for the punishment of crime, let the supreme penalty to which Cieplak was condemned by the court be commuted to ten years' solitary confinement.

2. In the case of the condemned Citizen Budkiewicz, whose criminal activities, for which he alleges religious motives, were closely interwoven with direct and open acts of counter-revolution in concert with a foreign bourgeois power openly hostile to the Soviet Republic, and who abused his priestly office to perform acts of undoubted high treason—the appeal for mercy of Citizen Budkiewicz is TO BE DISMISSED.

(*Signed*) M. KALININ (President of the V.R.C.I.K.).
T. SAPRONOV (Secretary of the V.R.C.I.K.).

KREMLIN, MOSCOW,
March 29, 1923.

APPENDIX IV

THE TREATY OF RIGA

The following is Article VII of the treaty signed at Riga on March 18, 1921, by the representatives of Poland and Russia:

Article VII.

I. Russia and the Ukraine, according to the principles of equality of rights to all nationalities, assures to persons of Polish nationality living in Russia, the Ukraine, and White Ruthenia all rights safeguarding the free development of culture and language and the practice of religious observances. On her part Poland assures the same rights to persons of Russian, Ukrainian, and White Ruthenian nationality living in Poland.

Persons of Polish nationality living in Russia, the Ukraine, and White Ruthenia have the right, within the limits of internal legislation, to cultivate their own language, to organize and to support their own schools, to develop their own culture, and to form for that purpose associations and unions. Persons of Russian, Ukrainian, and White Ruthenian nationality living in Poland can enjoy the same rights within the limits of internal legislation.

II. Both contracting parties mutually undertake to refrain from direct or indirect interference with the organization and the affairs of the Church and of religious associations existing on the territory of the other party.

III. The Churches and the religious associations to which persons of Polish nationality belong in Russia, the Ukraine, and White Ruthenia have the right, within the limits of internal legislation, to organize their internal ecclesiastical affairs independently.

The above-mentioned Churches and religious associations have the right, within the limits of internal legislation, to hold and to acquire such movable and immovable property as is indispensable for religious practices and for the maintenance of the clergy and of the ecclesiastical institutions.

They have upon the same principles the right of using the churches and institutions indispensable to the observance of religious practices.

Persons of Russian, Ukrainian, and White Ruthenian nationality shall enjoy the same rights in Poland.

APPENDIX V

THE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE VATICAN AND THE KREMLIN

In May, 1922, the Vatican proposed to buy the chalices and other sacred objects then being requisitioned from Catholic churches in Petrograd, ostensibly for famine relief. I give a translation of the text of these proposals:

The Vatican,
Secretariat of State of His Holiness,
May 14, 1922 (*No.* 3,605).

To His Excellency Monsieur Chicherin, Russian Delegation, Genoa.

Excellency,

. . . In this connection I have the honour to inform you that, according to a telegram from Mgr. Cieplak to the Holy Father, the State authorities of Petrograd insist on the surrrender of the sacred and valuable articles of worship in order that the money derived from the sale of them may be devoted to famine relief.

On this subject I hasten to inform Your Excellency that the Holy Father is ready to buy these sacred and valuable objects, and to deposit them with Archbishop Cieplak. The price agreed on will be immediately paid to Your Excellency or to any other person whom the Government may nominate.

I beg Your Excellency kindly to favour me with a reply to this request as soon as possible, and to be good enough to transmit the necessary orders to Petrograd.

Accept, Excellency, the assurance of my very high esteem.

(*Signed*) Joseph Pizzardo
(*For the Secretary of State of His Holiness*).

The portion omitted at the beginning of this letter is an appeal for the release of Patriarch Tikhon and the other imprisoned prelates of the Orthodox Church. This appeal is repeated at the beginning of Cardinal Gasparri's telegram to Lenin, which I give below.

To the above letter, M. Chicherin replied as follows, under date of May 17, from Santa Margherita:

SANTA MARGHERITA,
May 17.

"... In what concerns the very interesting proposals contained in the second part of your letter, they were immediately transmitted by me to Moscow, where they will certainly be examined with all the good-will such proposals deserve."

No answer ever came from Moscow, nor was any reply ever given to the following telegram sent directly to Lenin, on June 7, 1922, by Cardinal Gasparri:

HIS EXCELLENCY M. LENIN, MOSCOW,

... Besides, I should be very grateful to know what reception has been accorded to the proposal of the Holy See to buy the valuables conformably with the letter addressed to M. Chicherin on May 14.

(*Signed*) CARDINAL GASPARRI.

THE VATICAN,
June 7, 1922.

APPENDIX VI

ADMISSION TICKETS TO THE CIEPLAK TRIAL

A Bolshevik newspaper (the *Izvestia*, March 21), which I quote in Appendix I, stated on the eve of the trial that permission would be by special ticket. The foreign journalists applied to the Press Department in the Commissariat of Foreign Affairs, which had always been in the habit of showering on them invitations to Bolshevik functions, but on this occasion that department said that it had no tickets at its disposal.

I applied to the revolutionary tribunal itself, but my application was left unanswered. Then the head of a foreign relief mission, who had got one ticket for himself and another for his secretary, brought me in with him on his second ticket as a translator, not as a journalist. On entering the hall I found two of my colleagues there before me, one of them a Hebrew gentleman and the other a German who has several times declared that he is a member of the German Communist Party. I might add that both these journalists supply America with news, and apparently the Soviet Government regarded them as the most suitable persons to report the Cieplak trial for the United States. One of them drew the attention of a Bolshevik official to my presence, and I felt sure that, on returning to my lodgings, I would find an agent of the G.P.U. awaiting me; but, on the contrary, I found that the revolutionary tribunal had telephoned me an affable message saying that I would get a permit to attend the trial by applying to a certain officer in the house of the Red Labour Unions. I did so once, and got a one-day permit, after which I continued using my permit as translator, which was good for all the trial, as, otherwise, I might be unable to secure a permit every day. After the first day my colleagues were also given permits by the officer to whom I had been told to apply.

I understand that none of the foreign missions were able to get a permit from the Commissariat of Foreign Affairs, though some of them got permits from the revolutionary tribunal, but these only entitled their representatives to sit at the back of the court, where it was difficult to follow the proceedings.

APPENDIX VII

THE CATHOLIC CHURCHES IN PETROGRAD AND MOSCOW

BEFORE giving a list of all the Catholic Churches in Petrograd and Moscow, I shall say something of the Catholic Church in Russia generally; but it must be borne in mind that the figures I give below refer to 1914, and that all the Prelates I mention have either been imprisoned or expelled by the Bolsheviks. Archbishop of Moghilev and Metropolitan of all the Latin Catholics in Russia and Siberia, Mgr. von Ropp, with residence at Petrograd. The Exarch Fedorov has jurisdiction over all Catholics of the Slav rite in Russia. In Petrograd, three Slav parishes with 2,000 parishioners and 5 priests. A new bishopric has been created at Vladivostok, and other bishoprics will be created at Irkutsk, Omsk, Tashkent, and Kiev. Mgr. Cieplak is Suffragan Bishop of Moghilev and titular Archbishop of Achrida. Archdiocese of Moghilev, 700,000 laity, 328 priests. Bishop of Zhitomir with jurisdiction over province of Kiev, Mgr. Dubovsky, quarter of a million laity, 100 priests. Bishop of Kamenetz, Mgr. Mankovski, 300,000 Catholics, 130 priests. Bishop of Lutsk, Mgr. Godlevsky, 300,000 laity, 80 priests. Bishop of Tiraspol with residence at Saratov, Mgr. Kessler, 360,000 laity, 179 priests. Bishop of Minsk, Mgr. Lozinski, 288,000 Catholics, 84 priests. Armenian Catholics of Caucasus, following Armenian rite, 37,000.

The Imperial Russian Government interfered to a much greater extent than the Soviet Government interferes, in ecclesiastical appointments within the Catholic Church in Russia, the officials of the " Imperial Ministry of Heterodox Religions " (as it was politely named) having practically been the choosers of all Catholic ecclesiastical dignitaries in Russia, and having always selected for advancement men who were the most likely to be willing tools of the Russian Government. Rome sometimes nominated to vacant sees priests who thought more of Catholic than of imperial interests, and who were, moreover, backed by the great majority of their ecclesiastical colleagues; but in such cases the Russian Government did not allow those priests to exercise episcopal functions, and, after the sees had been vacant for a long period, the Vatican had, as a rule, to give way. The result was that (according to the *Civiltà Cattolica* of June 5,

1915) only two of fourteen Archbishops of Moghilev were fairly free from Josephism or Erastianism.

The Imperial Government aimed quite frankly at the systematic demoralization of the Catholic Church in Russia, and would probably have succeeded, if the Revolution had not come, for its plans were marked by a cunning truly diabolical. Till 1905, Catholic ecclesiastical students were forbidden to study outside of Russia; and this isolation from the invigorating atmosphere of the West rendered the Seminary professors, as well as the priests whom they taught, comparatively timorous *vis-à-vis* of the Civil Power. Mgr. * * *, the last Tzarist Archbishop of Moghilev, was recalled by Rome owing to his subserviency to the Russian Government; and one Canon, who was for many years secretary to an Archbishop, was openly on the side of that Government, which rewarded him with decorations and a pension. Moreover, by cutting off for long periods all communication between the Catholic Bishops and Rome, St. Petersburg sought to create a Latin schism.

Tzarism was a poison-tree which tended to blight everything that grew in its shade—Orthodoxy, Catholicism, Protestantism, literature, politics, capitalism, the landed gentry, the middle classes—everything save, perhaps, the ballet.

The Churches in Petrograd.

1. The cathedral, on the first Rota, Ismaïlovsky, near the Episcopal Palace.

2. St. Catherine's, on the Nevsky Prospect, founded by the Dominicans at the end of the eighteenth century, afterwards given to the Jesuits, restored to the Dominicans when the Jesuits were expelled, and finally taken possession of by the Polish secular clergy.

St. Catherine's was called the "International Church of Petrograd," and it deserved the title, as, under the old *régime*, it used to contain Polish, French, English, Austrian, Italian, and Spanish priests; while, among the congregation, one could find Catholics from every country in Europe and from every walk of life—Polish workmen, Russian officers, British diplomatists, French valets, Bavarian merchants—but it would be easier to mention nations and classes that were not represented than to mention those that were represented. Mgr. Budkiewicz was the last Dean of this church.

3. St. Stanislaus, in the Torgovaya, a small church built about the year 1825 by the French Assumptionists, who occupied it for some time, but afterwards left Russia. Father Yunevich was in charge of this church until 1923.

4. The chapel of the Immaculate Conception, Basil Island, Fourteenth Line. This belonged to a small convent of Polish Franciscan nuns who left Petrograd in 1917. It was adminis-

tered by Father Vassilevsky, who was one of the prisoners at the Cieplak trial.

5. The church of St. Boniface, which was formerly in charge of Austrian Friars. Father Dmovsky, a Polish priest, administered it from the outbreak of the Great War till September, 1922, when he went to Poland. The Exarch Fedorov then took charge of it.

6. The Viborg Cemetery Church belonged to the Lettish Fathers, and the school connected with it was conducted by Franciscan Tertiary Sisters. The church has been closed since 1922, and the school was closed earlier.

7. St. Casimir's, outside the city walls.

8. The Barmaliva Chapel for Catholics of the Oriental rite was in charge of the Exarch Fedorov.

9. Notre Dame de France, Kovensky Pereulok, served by a French Dominican, was built for the French Catholics, and is still open. The only other French priest who was in Petrograd under the Bolsheviks was Père Lagrange, who left Moscow in the spring of 1920, after having spent thirty-five years in Russia.

In the suburbs of Petrograd there were Catholic churches at Kolpino and Lesnoy, but both these churches are now closed.

Catholic Churches in Moscow.

1. SS. Peter and Paul (Polish).
2. All Saints (Polish).
3. St. Louis of France (French).
4. A room in which a Catholic service, according to the Oriental rite, is said. It is only nominally a church, and the Bolsheviks have decided to close it.

All the Moscow churches and most of the Petrograd churches are now (August, 1923) open again, but I cannot say how long they will be allowed to remain open or whether there are enough priests to attend to them.

In 1921 a kind of theological seminary was established in the Archbishop's house, Petrograd, and nine students, all of them converts, entered it. Economic necessity and the Soviet law forced them to work during the day at various bread-winning occupations, and to study in the evening and at night. They studied the Latin rite, but two other converts studied the Eastern rite under the supervision of the Exarch Fedorov.

The great lack of these students is suitable textbooks, for all theological works sent to them from outside are impounded at the frontier; almost the only Catholic book which got through was a copy of the latest edition of canon law, which Archbishop Cieplak managed to procure from Latvia, as he admitted at the trial. Catholic literature in the Russian language is still scarcer; it is so scarce that I think it only exists in the form of manuscripts laboriously copied by hand, as the Gospels were copied

in medieval monasteries. In 1920 a "Russian Catholic Literature Fund" was opened in Petrograd, but, for the reasons I have just given, those in charge of it were unable to import books. A convent of nuns (all of them converts) which the Exarch Fedorov established close to the Barmaliva Church, in Petrograd, has done good work by translating Catholic books of devotion into Russian. Four of these nuns were highly educated women, and one of them, Sister Veronica, was an effective speaker at the conferences in St. Catherine's Hall to which I have already referred. A similar community of nuns was founded in Moscow by Father Abrikosov; and of the courage, piety, and philanthropy of these women I cannot speak too highly.

Miss Almedingen, to whose book "The Catholic Church in Russia To-day"* I am indebted for many of the above particulars, says that during 1922 there were many conversions of *hieromonachi*, or Orthodox monks, in the monastery of St. Alexander Nevsky, Petrograd. Two of these converts remain in Petrograd; the others have been sent into the provinces.

Owing to the abolition of the monasteries and nunneries, and to the general dispensation granted, illegally from an ecclesiastical point of view, to their inmates, there will probably be more conversions among the stricter monks and nuns than among the married secular clergy, whose wives and children will in many cases object to their joining even the Uniat Church.

I have also got some information about the Catholic Church in Russia from the "Directorium Divini Officii et Missarum pro Archidiocesi Mohiloviensi in annum Domini 1923," a little work of reference, in Latin, which is printed with an accuracy worthy of the Vatican Press itself, though, according to an inscription in very small type on the reverse of the title-page, the printing was done by "The Red Agitator," a Bolshevik typography in Petrograd. In this work the name "Matulanis" is printed so, and not "Matulianis," as in all the Bolshevik documents and reports connected with the Cieplak case; and the ages of the priests are not exactly the same as they are given in the Statement of Accusation.

* Published by Messrs. Burns, Oates and Washbourne.

APPENDIX VIII

KRASIKOV, GALKIN, AND THE ANTI-RELIGIOUS SEMINARY IN MOSCOW

Two of the principal figures on the side of the prosecution in the Cieplak trial, though, nominally, both of them were neutral, were Krasikov and Galkin. Krasikov is the head of the Religious Department in the Commissariat of Justice, and the functionary with whom, therefore, not only the Catholic Church in Russia, but also the Orthodox and the Protestant Churches have to deal. Galkin was the judge at the Cieplak trial.

Now, both these men are rabid enemies of every kind of religion. Writing in the *Izvestia*, the official organ of the Soviet Government, on November 18, 1922, on the "Anti-Religious Seminary" which was opened that day in Moscow, Comrade Kucherin says that the teaching staff includes such great names in the anti-religious world as Stepanov, Pokrovsky, Krasikov, Galkin, and four others.

This seminary is intended, we are told, for the careful training of "propagandists and agitators in religious questions," and "has a special anti-religious library." It was founded, according to the *Izvestia*, by the Moscow Committee of the Russian Communist Party—in other words, by the party which controls Russia, and *is* the Government of Russia. Naturally, in Kucherin's opinion, it supplies a long-felt want. Perhaps I had better translate Kucherin's article in the *Izvestia ;* but I am not responsible for his Bolshevik jargon or his tangled sentences.

"Comrades in touch with the work of the agitational propagandist apparatus in our party organizations are well aware," he says, "of how small is the propagandist force in the Bolshevik Party generally; and this defect is particularly noticeable in the case of propagandists and agitators who specialize in religious questions.

"It is now a year," he continues, "since the most level-headed and far-sighted of our leaders saw what an advantage it would be if we could establish under the auspices of the Moscow Committee a good, sound, anti-religious seminary. This has now been done, and in a short time it will fill our ranks with serious students, thoroughly well grounded in the methods of religious controversy, and a credit to the old comrades, experienced in such work, who have been entrusted with the

direction of the establishment. Two or four dozen comrades in this seminary—some of them new propagandists, some of them old—have worked out, under the direction of several sturdy old atheists, a plan for a joint anti-religious advance, a plan which will reduce to a minimum all the inconsistencies in the practical side of the question.

"Many agitators have, in the past, gone in too much for 'psychological analyses,' or for tracing religious myths to astronomical causes. Other agitators have been historical specialists who absolutely failed to realize that an audience in this country is anything but inclined to regard religion as a fit object for scientific examination.

"The anti-religious seminary, which has now been opened by the Moscow Soviet, carefully avoids these pitfalls. It consists of practised propagandists from Moscow and the provinces as well as of comrades who have only recently turned their attention to the question of anti-religious lectures. All are, as I said before, under the experienced direction of old, anti-Christian orators, and of professors learned in natural science; and all are taught how to make their points to the best advantage from the platform and how, at the same time, to convey real information to their hearers.

"Work at the seminary will be divided as follows:

"(1) Faith and Knowledge, (2) Religion and Morals, (3) Origin and Growth of Religions, (4) History of Christianity, (5) Church and State, (6) The Reformation in the West and in Russia, (7) Natural History: (*a*) The Universe, the Solar System, the Earth; (*b*) Origin and Growth of Life; (*c*) Origin of Man; (*d*) Prehistoric Man, (8) Religion and Marxism.

"A special course of study, bearing on Islam, will be provided for Eastern students. Work (according to the new programme) begins on Saturday, November 18, at 7 p.m. in the premises of the Moscow Committee."

The worst feature of the Bolshevik persecution of Christianity is not the imprisonment and murder of priests and laymen, but the attack on family life. The new laws on marriage and on the education of children, which a Commission in the Department of Justice is now preparing, are deeply tainted by that most atrocious doctrine of radical Communism—namely, the doctrine that children belong absolutely to the State, and must be handed over to State institutions. I have before me an official copy of that project of law in the organ of the department of Justice (*The Weekly of Soviet Justice*, September 13, 1923) as well as an explanation of the intent and purpose of the new laws. This explanation is from the pen of Comrade Goihbarg, President of the Commission which prepared the law, and it appears in the *Izvestia* of September 16. To quote a few of Goihbarg's statements: "All children are legitimate with us. . . . *For the*

time being we cannot replace individual and private education by a more complete and varied, more perfect and rational instruction because the general conditions of life have not as yet been developed to that degree. . . . We cannot liberate the child from its servitude to its parents, but if we grant rights to the parent over the child, we do so only in the interests of the child. . . . The Commission has prepared the following law: Children who have not reached maturity (eighteen years) are regarded as belonging to no religion whatsoever, and the assertion of the parents that the child belongs to any particular Church has absolutely no force. . . . *For the present* we cannot charge Society and the Government with the expenses necessary for the education of children, and we are obliged to call upon the parents." If a mother says that a certain man, not necessarily her husband, is the father of her child, and if this man denies her statement, " the mother has the right to declare this denial untrue, and she must be cared for by the man in question so far as the expenses of childbirth go. . . ." If even a married woman claims that somebody other than her husband is the father of her child, that other man will be regarded in law as the father " if the change may ameliorate the social and material conditions of the child. . . . The indisputable truth itself must cede to the interests of the child."

In the *Izvestia* of May 26, 1923, Kalinin, the President of the Union of Soviet Republics, reviews enthusiastically a book by one Yakovlev, entitled " The Village—As It Really Is," and dealing entirely with the question of how to destroy the Christianity of the peasants. Kalinin warmly approves of Yakovlev's proposals, and suggests " the organization of theatres in villages as a rival to the church. . . . The organization of theatres, concerts, parties, different games, and interesting conferences creates an intercourse outside the church."

Kalinin deplores, by the way, the fact that " several hundreds of thousands of Communists disbanded from the Red Army . . . as well as an enormous number of Communist workmen, have lost their Communism in their villages," in other words, have returned to Christianity.

The whole article is worthy of the Government which has, in one place, substituted the statue of Judas Iscariot for that of Christ; which affixed to the wall of a house alongside the holiest shrine in Moscow a slab bearing the inscription, " Religion is opium for the people "; which forced the Patriarch to sign a " recantation," and then, on July 1, 1923, filled the whole front-page of the *Atheist* with a facsimile reproduction of it, and with a triumphant article about it. This review of Kalinin's, however, and the above laws on marriage and education are useful as showing that the Bolshevik persecution of Christianity is only beginning.

APPENDIX IX

THE BOLSHEVIK PAMPHLET ON THE CIEPLAK TRIAL

THE only pamphlet which, so far as I am aware, the Bolsheviks have published about the Cieplak trial is in Polish, and is produced "under the editorship of J. Leszczyński" at the "Krasnaja Now," Moscow. It is entitled "Proces Arcybiskupa Cieplaka i 14 Księży." The publishing house in question is entirely under the control of the Bolshevik Government, and could publish nothing of which that Government did not approve. The editor did not, I believe, write a word of the pamphlet excepting the preface and one or two general articles; and his name appears on the title page only because it is a Polish name. It is not an assumed name, like so many of the Slav names by which most of the principal Communists in Russia are known. J. Leszczyński is a Pole, born in Poland, and also a well-known Bolshevik leader, who, after the revolution of October, 1917, took a prominent part in destroying the Polish *bourgeois* organizations in Russia, and acted as a kind of Minister for Polish Affairs in the Soviet Government.

I have every reason to believe that the actual writers of this pamphlet are the Bolshevik journalists who attended the Cieplak trial; and, if so, they are all Jews, probably from the swarming ghettoes of Poland and Lithuania. This would account for the hatred of the Poles which they exhibit, and also for their contempt towards such of the priests as are of peasant origin, the hatred being due, perhaps, to the memory of past persecution, and the contempt being natural in the sons of small shopkeepers and money-lenders who were in the habit of swindling ignorant farmers.

This pamphlet consists of a small and inaccurate selection of extracts from the Bolshevik reports of the cross-examinations, a revised version of Krylenko's final speeches, and a report of the speeches from the dock. These speeches are not only abbreviated and mutilated, but they are also interspersed with a running fire of vulgar and sarcastic observations, which remind one of the interruptions Communists habitually indulge in at political meetings of their opponents in Great Britain and America.

Where the pamphlet traverses the same ground as the Statement of Accusation, I omit or condense it, but I omit nothing

which tells against the prisoners, and none of my omissions change the sense. I do not give the speeches delivered on the last day of the trial, since my own version of those speeches in Part II, Chapter VIII, includes everything given in this Bolshevik version, together with much that this Bolshevik version omits. My own observations I put in brackets or in footnotes.

Smashed by the blows of the revolution, and deprived of its natural support, the Tzar, the Russian Church is now torn by internal dissensions and attacked from outside by the growing intelligence of the working people of the Soviet Republic. Meantime the Vatican is gradually putting out her claws, and dreams of devouring the Greek Church after having at first induced it to conform to the Catholic system. The Pope thinks that the Latin and the Greek Catholic Churches in Russia will be his agents in the execution of this plan, for the success of which it is necessary that these Churches preserve the appearance of loyalty to the Soviet Government. Therefore, both in his replies and in his speeches, Cieplak, this episcopal director of the Russian branch of the Catholic Syndicate of Darkness and Profiteering, exhibits a tendency to evade responsibility for his actions.

* * * * *

The documentary evidence on which the statement of accusation was based had been seized in the house of a Citizen Pussevich in Petrograd in 1920. (But it seems from the reports of the trial that some documentary evidence must also have been found in Mgr. Budkiewicz's rooms.) That evidence consists of the following exhibits: (1) Minutes of clerical conferences held at intervals from December 18, 1918, to April 6, 1920. Archbishop Ropp, Bishop (not yet Archbishop) Cieplak, Mgrs. Maletzky and Budkiewicz, and all the other prisoners with the exception of Sharnas attended those meetings. (2) Other documents: (*a*) An historical memorandum on the separation of the Church from the State in Bolshevik Russia; (*b*) one circular letter signed Ropp and Cieplak; (*c*) a pastoral letter; (*d*) copies of the *Moghilev Diocesan Chronicle;* (*e*) appeal by Cieplak to Catholic parents in the Moghilev diocese.

The prosecution was based on the decree of February 23, 1918, separating the Church from the State and the school from the Church, and on the supplementary regulations on the same subject issued six months later. The priests were opposed to the decree because it deprived them of administrative power and of the right to teach religion. At one of the clerical conferences above referred to they talked of the struggle against "the Bolshevik plague."* On May 27, 1919, Ropp sent out a circular

* In the Statement of Accusation the word "poison" is used (see Part II, Chapter III). Both are right.

directing that parochial committees should be formed to combat Bolshevism, and that each of these committees should send two delegates to form a central committee under the presidency of the Archbishop. On the strength of this circular a project for the organization of such committees was drawn up. Ropp said that as those committees were unknown to canon law they were temporary, and would cease once law and order were restored to Russia. At a conference of the clergy which took place on February 18, 1920, there were discussions on the statutes of the parochial committees; and Cieplak proposed that these committees should be kept informed so that they could pass from the defensive to the offensive in order to secure for Catholics real religious liberty, and particularly the right of teaching religion in schools and the right to fulfil their religious duties. In this discussion of the offensive, Cieplak said that parents should take their children away from the Communist schools unless they were allowed religious liberty. The meeting approved of this.

Among the other exhibits in this case was a paper by Mgr. Budkiewicz entitled "The Question of Entering into Agreements in the Light of Present Conditions." Explaining the change of tactics from the defensive to the offensive, the writer says that Archbishop Ropp permitted the signature of the agreements because he believed that the present Government of Russia would not last long, and could not therefore carry out (to the detriment of Catholic interests) the agreements into which it entered. "As the Bolshevik Government is still in existence, and as we do not know how long it will remain in existence," continues Mgr. Budkiewicz, "we have no right to sign agreements without permission from the Vatican. Those who sign such agreements are, *ipso facto*, excommunicated. By declining to sign, we shall not be bound by any obligations, and the Bolsheviks will have more respect for Catholics who protest than for Catholics who yield."

These arguments were put forward by Budkiewicz at a clerical conference held on February 25, 1920.

Budkiewicz, in his "Historical Memorandum," publishes decrees of the Soviet Government, and shows how the Catholic clergy reacted against such decrees. He shows how, after the Petrograd Soviet had asked all churches to hand in inventories of their property and all their records of births, marriages, and deaths, to the Department of Justice, the Dean of the Catholic clergy in Petrograd issued instructions to the people not to obey those orders, as they were contrary to canon law.

At the end of August, 1918, the Catholics decided to take joint action with the Orthodox in sending protests to Moscow.*

* It will be noticed that the charges against the priests dealt principally with the years 1918, 1919, and 1920. Why action was not taken by the Soviet Government till the year 1923 is nowhere explained.

The Catholics originally agreed to sign. Then they changed their attitude and practically annulled their signatures. On February 23, 1922, a decree of the Soviet Government ordered the requisition of Church valuables. . . . Cieplak based his opposition on the Church disestablishment decree, which said that the Government would not violate the principles of religious freedom, and also on Article 7, paragraph 3, of the Riga Treaty (see " The Riga Treaty," Appendix IV).

Khvetzko's church was on the first Rota, Moscow-Narva district. The witnesses who testified against Khvetzko were Smirnov, the head of the Administrative Department in the district, and Mikhaïlov, the head of the Church Board. . . . Guedix, the Soviet representative, was afraid, on the occasion of his first visit, to close the church of St. Casimir. Then he went a second time, but failed again owing to Eismont, the vicar, not being present, and to the fact that a hostile crowd filled the church, and that a boy rang the church bell. In the church of St. Stanislaus, Yunevich shouted " Von !" (Off !) to Kolesnikov, the head of the Church Board in that district. (This one syllable " Von !" seems to have shocked the Bolsheviks exceedingly, and, in their accounts of the trial, they frequently refer to it as a most outrageous interjection. This sensitiveness is remarkable when we consider the extreme violence of the language which the Reds permit themselves habitually to use in their official intercourse with foreign States.

The pamphlet gives the following extracts from Krylenko's cross-examination of the accused:)

KRYLENKO: What laws do you recognize as binding on you, those of Red Russia or those of Rome ?

KHODNEVICH: As a Catholic priest I am bound to obey Rome.

The fanatical Jesuit, Khodnevich, said: " As Citizen Khodnevich I am bound to abide by the laws of the State; as a Catholic priest I must obey canon law " (p. 29).

Galkin asked Fedorov whether he recognized the Soviet Government. Fedorov replied: " Wherever the laws of the Soviet Government come into conflict with the laws of the Church, I will not obey the Soviet Government. I will continue to teach the children their religion, and will fight for the rights of the Church " (p. 30).

On March 20, 1920, Cieplak wrote to the Catholic parents of his diocese: " You should demand a Catholic education for your children—in other words, you should demand that to which you are naturally entitled—and in the meantime you should send your children to the churches in order that they may be taught their religion. Special classes for the teaching of religion will

be formed in connection with every parochial church, and you should send your children to those classes " (p. 32).

In connection with the appeal which the Archbishop made, Krylenko asked Cieplak: " Don't you think that the publication of this appeal was due to a desire on your part to incite the Catholics to a campaign against the decree disestablishing the Church ?"

CIEPLAK: " As the teacher of my people, I was obliged to act as I did."

All the priests endorsed Cieplak's statement that each of the parochial churches had classes for the giving of religious instruction.

EISMONT: " I taught children in my house—ten, fifteen, sometimes twenty children at a time—children between the ages of eight and twelve."

Khodnevich made a similar statement, adding: " I thought this was perfectly legal."

MATULIANIS: " I taught religion in the church, and, when the church was closed, in my own house."

Khvetzko admitted that he could not call a group of children a school, and therefore thought that the law did not forbid the teaching of a group of children, but he also declared fanatically: " I will teach the children their religion at every opportunity, even if it be in illegal schools."

KRYLENKO: Why do you think the influence of the Church is increasing so much among Catholics ? Is it not because of the schools ?

CIEPLAK: The schools are only one way, and a very successful way.

KRYLENKO: Is it because a child accepts the teaching of the Church without any criticism ?

CIEPLAK: Yes, it is.

KRYLENKO: Thus, by securing influence over the emotional mind of a child, the priest tries to conquer the will of his parishioner ? . . . Why is it that the Church prohibits Catholics joining a political party (*i.e.*, the Communist Party) if the Church is not a political party itself ?

CIEPLAK: The Church only issues such a prohibition when the party in question is against religion. It is my duty to strengthen a hesitating faith (p. 35).

January 30, 1920.—The minutes of the clerical conferences contained the following note by Mgr. Budkiewicz under the

above date: "Father Vassilevsky read a paper on the sanctity of marriage. He said that the Communists tend towards the abolition of marriage and towards a community of wives. (Laughter in court.) He derives this conclusion from the statements made by the Communists themselves and also from a statement made by Kautsky (a German Socialist opposed to Marxism), who urged, as an argument in favour of community of wives, that the chimpanzees, which are the most intelligent of the apes, had wives in common, whereas other apes had not, and who added that polygamy and polyandry are still practised by savages, which shows that originally wives were common property. Kautsky maintained that humanity should, as a result of evolution, reach polygamy and polyandry as a form of marriage complying with the laws of nature. (Renewed laughter.) The priests present doubted whether Vassilevsky had correctly presented the Communist point of view" (p. 35).

(The pamphlet points out that) Mgr. Budkiewicz was anxious to get a letter of protection for his church from the Danish Red Cross and from the Polish Mission, as well as to obtain for himself a Polish passport from the representative of the (Polish) Regent's Council and a letter of protection from Count Mirbach, the German Minister in Moscow.*

The following letter from Mgr. Budkiewicz to the Moscow representative of the Polish Government was read in court:

"DEAR SIR,

"The church of St. Catherine in Petrograd could never be supported entirely by voluntary contributions, and has always been supported to some extent by rents derived from house property belonging to it. In view of the manifold cultural and educational activities of this church, the income received from this house property, representing before the war 300,000 roubles (£30,000) a year, was not always adequate when extensive repairs of the houses or of the church had to be carried out. For this reason a loan of 300,000 roubles was floated, twenty years ago, in the Municipal Credit Society, and of this loan

* To understand this anxiety of Mgr. Budkiewicz to get the protection of some foreign power for himself and his church, one must bear in mind how chaotic the conditions in Russia were in 1918, and how little protection the Soviet Government was able to give. A nearly successful attempt was made at this time to assassinate Lenin, who was badly wounded; and the German Minister, Count Mirbach, was blown to pieces by a bomb, despite the care with which the Bolsheviks guarded him. To blame Budkiewicz, as Krylenko did, for having, under these circumstances, approached foreign representatives for protection, is unfair and dishonest.

Everybody who had anything to lose was trying at this period to get foreign protection, and Count Mirbach was by far the strongest foreigner in Moscow.

200,000 roubles are still to be repaid. Further, smaller loans which we had contracted were gradually repaid out of the current income. Just now, when there is an economic crisis in Russia, and when the house property in question is a source of loss instead of a source of profit, a loan of 400,000 roubles has been received from various private persons. This transaction was completed without any difficulty, for everyone is convinced that the Church, and particularly the church of St. Catherine, is an absolutely reliable institution so far as payment is concerned. However, at the present time we must find another temporary guarantee for the creditors. I emphasize the fact that the guarantee need only be temporary, for I am convinced that, with a change in the political conditions, the houses will be returned to the church.

"In view of this highly critical situation of St. Catherine's financially, I beg you to present on my behalf the following request to the Polish Government—viz., that it should guarantee to repay the above-mentioned loan in case the church of St. Catherine cannot do so. In view of the certainty that the houses will be returned to the church, there is practically no risk in it, even if the present debts were increased by another few hundred thousand roubles, thus attaining the figure of one million. Even then the church estate could carry this burden, as, before the war, it was valued at seven million roubles.

"My second request is that the Polish Government should, if possible, take steps to facilitate the return of the houses to the church, and, generally speaking, to establish the inviolability of the church and its estate.

"Please accept the assurance of my esteem.

(*Signed*) "CONSTANTINE BUDKIEWICZ.

"*November* 27, 1919."

(This letter I only have from a Bolshevik source—namely, from the pamphlet—for Krylenko read it too rapidly for me to follow every word. I heard him refer to it afterwards, however, and I think that, in its general drift, it is genuine, though it is unlikely that Mgr. Budkiewicz described the Catholic Church as "an absolutely reliable institution so far as payment is concerned." He probably referred only to his own church of St. Catherine.

In considering this letter as a whole, one must take into account the circumstances of the case. The Bolsheviks had abolished all money, so that the postage stamps and almost useless paper notes which were taken up at collections in the church were practically worthless, and there was no other source of revenue, all the well-to-do Catholic laymen having fled, been ruined, or been banished. Moreover, shortly before this, it seemed certain that Denikin and Kolchak would, between them,

overthrow the Soviet Government; and though, by the end of November, the Red Army had gained the upper hand, Mgr. Budkiewicz probably disbelieved the official stories of victory, and was convinced at that moment, though he changed his opinion afterwards, that Lenin's Government was doomed to disappear within a short time. This conviction must have been strengthened by the fact that in November, 1919, conditions in Petrograd had reached the lowest point. I fail, therefore, to see that he did wrong, under these circumstances, in appealing to the Polish Government in the manner indicated, although Krylenko tried to make out that his appeal constituted high treason of the most flagrant kind. In the same way the head and front of Patriarch Tikhon's offending was, according to the official *Izvestia* of April 6, 1923, that, "though, after all, a citizen of the Soviet Republic, he was more than once, without the permission or sanction of the authorities, in communication with foreign countries through the missions of those countries in Moscow, and sent appeals to the Archbishop of Canterbury." This crime, we are gravely told, "falls under Articles 59, 69, and 119 of the Criminal Code"; and the *Izvestia* puts it first on the list. Apparently, all Tikhon's other "crimes" sink into insignificance in comparison with his crime of writing to the Archbishop of Canterbury a private letter dealing exclusively with ecclesiastical matters, and, worst of all, sending that letter through the safe hands of Mr. R. M. Hodgson instead of through a post-office, which at that period lost 90 per cent. of the letters entrusted to it. Yet the Patriarch would most probably have been shot like Mgr. Budkiewicz had England not intimated clearly to the Soviet Government that in that case the British Mission would leave Moscow.

Krylenko was technically right, however, in saying that Budkiewicz's raising of a loan on nationalized Church property was illegal, though surely the circumstances which I have described ought to have excused him.

I shall now return to the pamphlet.)

Krylenko pointed out that Budkiewicz had lived for twenty years in Petrograd, and should therefore have known that he was doing wrong in making such an application.

KRYLENKO: To whom did you send this letter?

BUDKIEWICZ: Probably I intended to send it to Zarnowski, the representative of the Polish Government. But this letter was not despatched. It was only a draft. I did not send this letter to the Polish Government. (This is not improbable, for in November, 1919, it was extremely difficult to send any letter out of Petrograd.)

Krylenko maintained that this statement was untrue, and he read a letter from Budkiewicz to Cieplak, in which the former says: "I have also approached the Polish Government asking that it should guarantee the repayment of the church's debts,

as, for a certain time, the church estate could not furnish adequate guarantees itself."

KRYLENKO: When did you approach the Polish Government ?

BUDKIEWICZ: I don't remember.

Krylenko also read a letter from Father Vassilevsky, who wrote: " Please let me have a list of the debts which you are prepared to pay. I must give them to-morrow to Pavlovski, who returns to-morrow to Moscow."

Mgr. Budkiewicz said this letter did not belong to him; but, though Budkiewicz's name did not appear in it, Krylenko maintained that it had been addressed to Budkiewicz, because (1) it began: " Dear Monsignor "; (2) it had been found among Budkiewicz's papers; and (3) some financial calculations, in Budkiewicz's handwriting, had been scribbled on the back of it. (Krylenko surmised that Pavlovski was the *liaison* officer between the Catholic clergy in Petrograd and the Polish Government's representative in Moscow, but he produced no proofs of this.)

Krylenko next read out two other documents: first, a telegram of congratulation which had been sent from Moscow to Warsaw on July 18, 1918, on the occasion of the consecration of the Polish Legation in Moscow; and, second, a description by Budkiewicz of that ceremony.

The telegram ran as follows: " The assembled Poles send to the Regent's Council the expression of their respect and an assurance of fidelity to the council, also their faith in the prosperity and happiness of the Polish State. (*Signed*) LEDNITSKY, BUDKIEWICZ, ZIELINSKY."

Asked why he had sent such a telegram to a foreign State, Budkiewicz replied that he had not read the text of the telegram, and that he had then in his possession a document certifying that he was a Polish citizen. (It should be borne in mind that at the time mentioned the question of nationality was, for many people who were technically Russians, a very tangled one. No less than eight independent Republics had come into existence on the frontiers of Russia, and the nationality of persons, born in these Republics when they were part of Russia, but resident in Russia proper at the time of the Bolshevik Revolution, was sometimes very uncertain. In very many cases, indeed, this difficulty has not been cleared up even yet. The spectacle of Krylenko bellowing with rage because Budkiewicz, a patriotic Pole, kept on friendly relations with Poland, was therefore one that left me absolutely cold; and I could not believe that Krylenko's own heat was genuine.)

(Page 41.) Krylenko now turned to the question of illegal services, and all the priests admitted that, after their churches had been closed, they held services without permission.

Krylenko insisted that these were illegal services. Cross-examination elicited the fact that Father Yunevich had celebrated, without permission, Masses at which from 100 to 200 people were present. Khvetzko admitted that 300 people sometimes assisted at the Mass he said. Eismont said that from 200 to 300 people attended his services. Near the church of St. Catherine, Masses were said in the living-rooms of the priests, and from 150 to 200 people attended. Mgr. Maletzky used to celebrate Mass in rooms situated under the closed church (apparently in the vaults of the church). The Eucharistic vessels used at those services were the private property of the priests.

Krylenko next read a protocol describing the searches that had been made in the parochial house attached to the church of St. Catherine, where Mgr. Budkiewicz was vicar. During the first search the police discovered twenty cases and trunks belonging to princesses and countesses who had fled from Soviet Russia. One of those refugees was the Princess Drucka-Lubecka. The next search took place in the same lumber-room on August 27, 1919; and, though the room had been sealed after the first search, nothing was found in it this time save two knives, six forks, and eleven spoons. Asked why he had taken charge of all the trunks which were found the first time, Mgr. Budkiewicz said: "I could not very well refuse. The owners are parishioners of mine."

Krylenko next read a letter from Father Yunevich to a brother of his in Moscow. It ran as follows:

"We have become accustomed to the present state of affairs, and are quietly awaiting developments, while expressing from time to time our indignation at every act of violence committed against us. Our manner of life and of work has not changed very much. We cannot assemble in the church; otherwise, everything is as it was. The people do not forget the church, and on Sundays they assemble in the streets outside the sealed doors of the churches, and, kneeling down, pray to God.* In the beginning they were interfered with, but later on the authorities ceased to disturb them. We still occupy our strategical positions, which have not, so far, been taken away from us. Let us hope that, with God's help, we shall be able to endure till the end. As far as our material conditions are concerned, we have suffered no hardships so far, and we live quite well. The people look after our material welfare even better than they did before. Generally

* Early in March, 1923, I myself saw a number of Catholics—men, women, and children—kneeling, absorbed in prayer, in the portico and on the threshold of St. Catherine's, with their bare heads bent towards the door, which was barred and sealed, while behind them a Bolshevik procession traversed the Nevsky Prospect.

speaking, we live as in the old times, save for some inconveniences due to the sealing of the churches and save, of course, for the uncertainty of our future.

" EDWARD YUNEVICH.

"*February* 7, 1923."

Judging by the date, this letter had evidently been seized in the post by the secret police just before the trial. The last four lines were read out in a very loud, sarcastic tone by Krylenko, and were greeted with ironical laughter by the Communists in court. It must be remembered, however, that the young writer was probably trying to cheer up his brother by painting a picture rosier than the facts warranted; that he had remained voluntarily with his little congregation in Petrograd throughout horrors and privations which scared away almost all foreigners, including the ministers of all other religions save Orthodoxy; that he could, without exposing himself to any reproach, have returned to his native town of Vilna, where the priests are treated with great consideration by the Poles, who have handed over to them several of the Russian churches there, and have thus escaped all those horrors and privations; finally, that he knew quite well the danger of his position, and is now serving a sentence of ten years' imprisonment under conditions worse than death.

The pamphlet next gives at great length the speeches of Krylenko, which seem to have been revised, probably by the Procurator himself. For instance, it makes him end his last speech by saying, " You must take the consequences " instead of " must carry your cross," the suggestive phrase which he actually used.

The pamphlet omits some of the speeches from the dock and mangles others. I do not give any of these speeches here, since they appear in full in the body of the book. The pamphlet ends with a number of chapters on the protests which were made by the outside world. These articles are headed " International Capital defends its Servants," and they attempt to prove that Archbishop Cieplak and his priests " were agents of capital, confident in the support of their mighty patron, and therefore disobedient to the laws of the Soviet."

This accusation that Archbishop Cieplak was an agent of international capital is characteristically Bolshevik. The Archbishop was nearly as poor as St. Peter, and all his effects, now confiscated by the Soviet Government, are not worth, probably, more than five pounds sterling. Had Cieplak possessed any influence with foreign capital, he would be living luxuriously to-day in the palatial guest-house of that Government on the Sofieskaya Quay, where, about the time the Cieplak trial took place, Mr. Dodge of the Standard Oil Company occupied sumptuous apartments, and was being treated by the Reds with the

utmost consideration, and where, at the time of writing, the Bolshevik leaders are on all-fours in front of Mr. F. E. Baldwin, the British Premier's cousin, because that gentleman happens to be an agent of foreign capital.

Instead of being antagonistic to foreign capital, the Bolsheviks fall down and worship it, as the Jews fell down and worshipped the golden calf; and they are convinced that if they offer a sufficiently large bait to English and American plutocrats, the English and American peoples will forget all about the Bolshevik persecution of Christianity. As one Bolshevik leader put it: "The English capitalist would invest his money with the devil, if the investment brought him a safe 15 per cent. free of income-tax."

And perhaps that Bolshevik leader was right. If some of the great English profiteers who did so well out of the war begin to do well out of Soviet Russia, some British politicians who had hitherto inveighed against Lenin and Trotzky may come to regard these gentlemen in a different light; and some British newspapers to which the Red Republic had been like a red rag to a bull may come to consider that Republic as a sensible and right-thinking bull regards good fodder. Big Business and Bolshevism are natural allies, and they are likely to come together, sooner or later, for the oppression of the poor, and of those priests whose place is with the poor, as their Divine Master's was.

In their rank materialism, in their genuine contempt for such tenets of Christianity as they cannot utilize for political or financial purposes, in their efforts to relieve parents of the care of their children and children of the care of their parents, to interfere in the home, to put asunder those whom God hath joined, to exclude religion from the schools, to reduce the workers to a state of servitude, to impose such taxation that the difference between it and nationalization will soon be negligible, and, finally, to erect the State into a sort of divinity, some European Governments outside of Russia are entering on the same path as that along which the Government of the R.S.F.S.R. has already advanced so far.

GLOSSARY

A.R.A.= American Relief Administration.

Bezbozhnik (Godless one, Atheist)= name of violently anti-religious newspaper, published in Moscow and supported by the Soviet Government.

Boyar. Up to the time of Peter the Great the Muscovite noblemen were called boyars.

Ch.K.= Cheka= V.Ch.K.= Extraordinary Commission. Ch.K., pronounced Chekà, with the accent on the last letter, are the initial letters of the words for "Extraordinary Commission." V.Ch.K., pronounced Vichekà, are the initial letters of the words for "All-Russian Extraordinary Commission." M.Ch.K.= Moscow Extraordinary Commission; P.Ch.K.= Petrograd Extraordinary Commission, and so on; each city in Russia having its own branch of this organization, of which the V.Ch.K. at Moscow is the central organization. The Bolsheviks call their various Government departments by their initial letters, as the British sometimes do when they speak of the W.O., F.O., G.P.O., etc.

Diachok=chanter in Russian Church.

G.P.U.=Gosudarstvennoe Politicheskoe Upravlenie=State Political Department. This is the powerful secret police organization which, under the name of the Cheka (see above), was established by the Soviet Government on December 20, 1917, with Dzerzhinsky as its first head, and which was, and is, the weapon of the Red Terror. Its headquarters are in a large building on the Lubyanka Square; hence it is frequently referred to as the "institution on the Lubyanka," or simply the "Lubyanka."

Gubispolkom=Provincial Executive Committee.

Ispolkom=Executive Committee.

Ikon=sacred picture.

Izvoshchik=cabman.

Komsomol=League of Communist Youth.

Krasnaja Now ("Red Virgin Soil")=name, in Polish, of a Bolshevik printing-office in Moscow.

Lavra=monastery.

Macierz Szkolna=a Polish educational association.

Maly Soviet=Little Soviet.

Militia=police. The Bolsheviks do not like the word "police," and therefore call their ordinary criminal police "militiamen," just as, because they do not like the designation "secret police," they call that department "the State Political Department"; because they do not like epaulettes they put badges of rank on the sleeve; and because they do not like the words "general," "colonel," "captain," and other military titles, they have

substituted for them the cumbrous terms "army commander" or "divisional commander," "regimental commander," "company commander," and so forth, all of which titles mean exactly the same things as the old ones. In the same way they call their administration "the Government of the Poor and the Oppressed," since they dislike calling it a "tyranny," though that is precisely what it is.

Muzhik= peasant.

Narkomjust=People's Commissariat for Justice.

Narkomindel=People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs.

Oprichniki. See footnote, Statement of Accusation (p. 166).

Politbureau=Political bureau.

Pood=a Russian weight (36·11 pounds avoirdupois).

Pravoslavny=Orthodox.

Presidium=the executive committee elected by Bolshevik organizations or assemblies to carry out the duties which the electing bodies are charged with from one plenary session to another.

R.S.F.S.R.=Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic.

Raskolniki=Russian dissenters or Old Believers.

Rota. Literally, company (of soldiers), but applied to streets, 1st Rota, 2nd Rota, etc., the name of the quarter being first given.

Rubashka=blouse, shirt.

S.R.=Socialist Revolutionaries.

S.S.S.R.=Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, the present official designation of the Russian Republics—*i.e.*, Russia, the Ukraine, the Caucasian republics, etc.—the Central Government being at Moscow, and the subordinate Governments enjoying only a fictitious autonomy.

Sobòr=Church Congress.

Sovnarkom=Council of National Commissars.

Stàretz=venerable old monk.

Susdal=a monastery used as a prison for delinquent monks of the Russian Church. Several Uniat ecclesiastics, including Archbishop Sheptitsky, were confined there.

Traktìr=public-house.

Uyzed=a district, a subdivision of a province.

V.Ch.K.=All-Russian Extraordinary Commission. See Ch.K.

V.R.C.I.K., or, more properly, **V.R.Ts.I.K.**=All-Russian Central Executive Committee.

Volost=a group of villages forming a subdivision of an *uyezd* (*q.v.*).

Vsik, or, more properly, **Vtsik**=All-Russian Central Executive Committee.

Zamnarkom=Acting-Commissar.

Zhivtzi (from zhivoi=living)=slang name given to members of the "Living Church."

Zolotnik=a Russian weight (2·40 drachms avoirdupois).

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